

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Association of History Teachers  
OF THE  
Middle States and Maryland

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Number 21

1923

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The World Community

*J. Montgomery Gambrill*

Some Reflections on Nationalism

*Carlton J. H. Hayes*

Geography as a Means of Promoting Friendly

Relations among Countries

*J. Russell Smith*

Corfu and the League of Nations

*John H. Latané*

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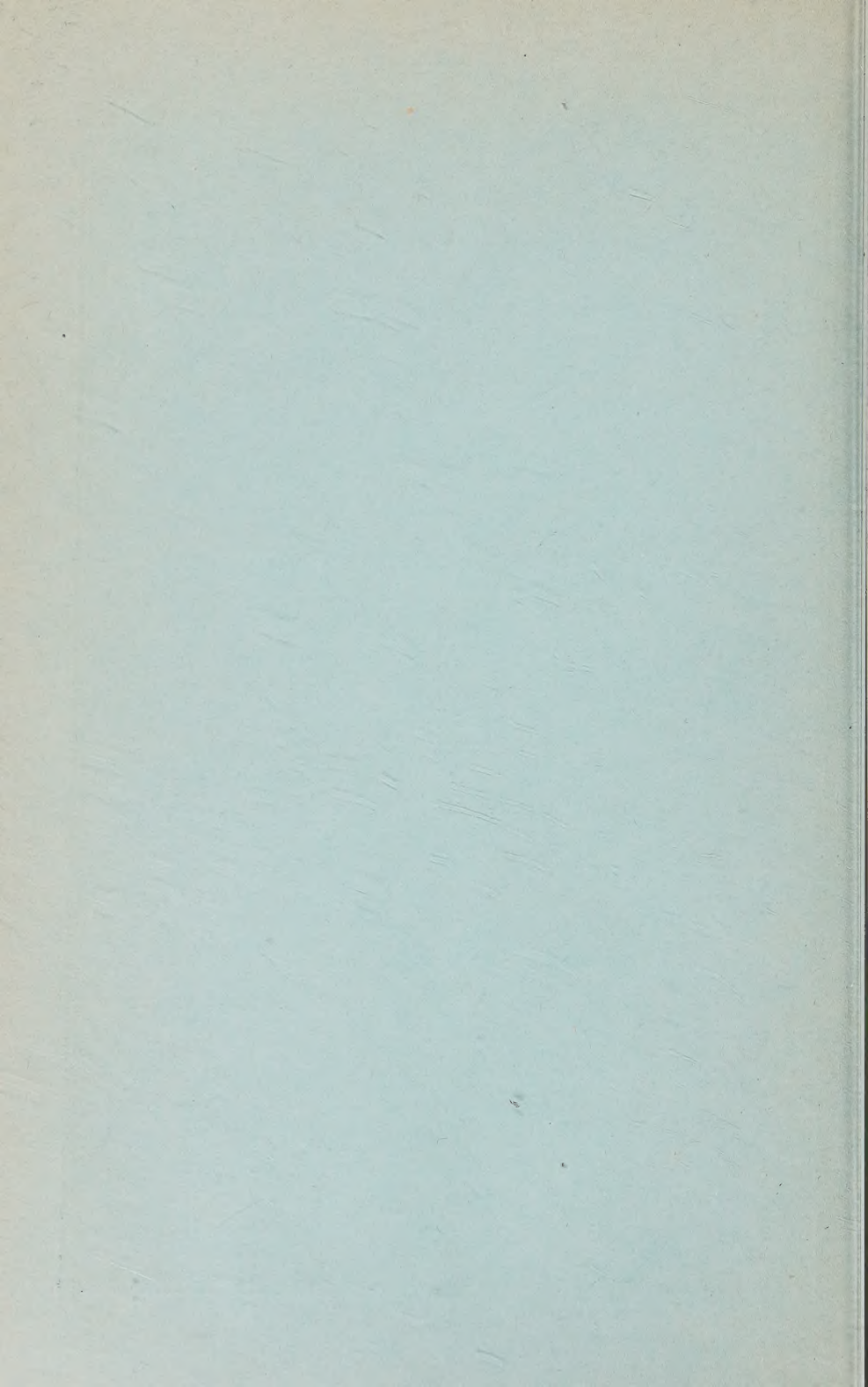
MEETINGS

NEW YORK

BETHLEHEM

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*Price One Dollar*



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# THE HISTORY

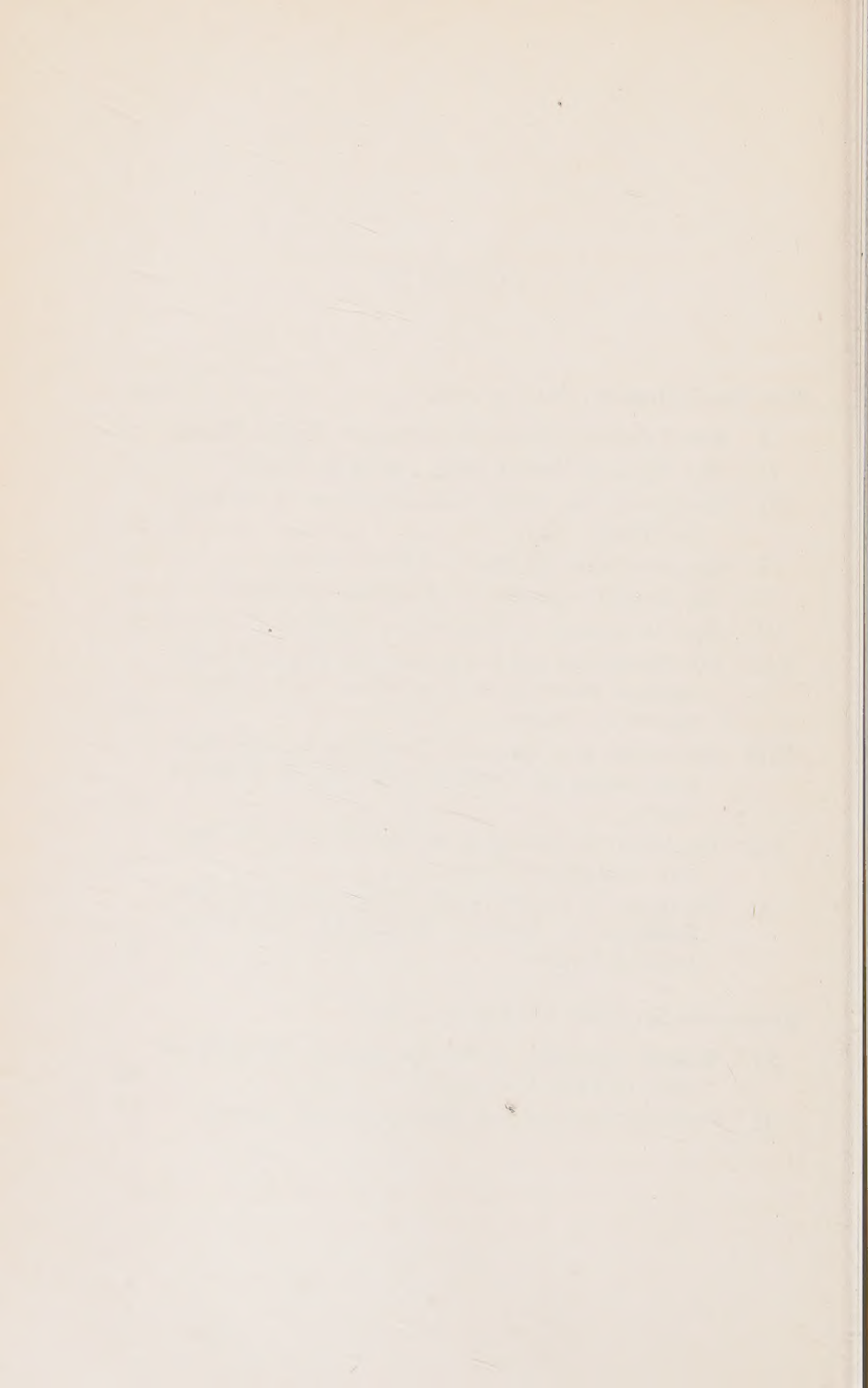
OF THE

AMERICAN

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## NEW YORK MEETING

*May 4-5, 1923*

THE LINCOLN SCHOOL OF TEACHERS COLLEGE

NEW YORK CITY

*Friday Afternoon, May 4, 1923, at 4 o'clock, Auditorium.*

GREETING AND WELCOME: Dean James E. Russell of Teachers College and Director Otis W. Caldwell of the Lincoln School.

RESPONSE: Miss Sarah A. Dynes, State Normal School, Trenton, New Jersey.

### TOPICS:

*Standard Tests in History*, Miss Ruth E. Hardy, Head of the Department of History and Civics, Girls' Commercial High School, Brooklyn; Mr. Fayette E. Moyer, Head of the Department of History and Civics, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York; Mr. Earle Rugg, Research Worker, Lincoln School.

*Discussion* led by Professor Arthur I. Gates, Department of Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia University.

*Friday Evening, May 4, 1923, at 8.15 o'clock*

### ADDRESSES:

*The World Community*, Professor J. M. Gambrill, Teachers College, Columbia University, President of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland.

*Nationalism*, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University.

*Saturday Morning, May 5, 1923, at 10.00 o'clock*

### TOPIC:

*The Study of International Relations in History, Civics, and Geography*. Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Relations; Professor J. Russell Smith, Professor of Economic Geography, Columbia University; Miss Jessie C. Evans, Head of the Department of History and Civics, William Penn High School, Philadelphia.

*Discussion* led by Miss Louise I. Capen, Department of History, Barringer High School, Newark, New Jersey.



## NEW TYPES OF TESTS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

The topic assigned to me is "Standard Tests in History," but I prefer to call it "New Types of Tests." I have not yet seen a standard test by which we can measure our achievement in teaching. I don't know that I want to see one. The whole search for Standard Tests and Standard Methods has little appeal for me; it suggests the search for the static. Recently, in reading Putnam Weale's "Indiscreet Chronicle of the Pacific," I discovered with delight a paragraph in which the writer deplores the American tendency to standardize every aspect of behavior, and traces to this source the timidity of our recent policy in foreign affairs, comparing it with the weakness and stultification which has finally fallen on the ancient Chinese civilization which for centuries has had a standard house, standard food, standard clothes and standard morality to the minutest detail. Let us, therefore, talk of "New Types"!

As far as I know, any published material on new types of tests is excessively meagre. Mr. Rugg, who is to speak to you this afternoon, has published the only really critical analysis of such tests that I have found, in the *School Review* for December, 1919. Other published material consists of a very few types that have been tried out on various groups of students. The articles presented to readers generally begin by saying: "We cannot evaluate these tests because the statistical work has not yet been completed," or "they have not yet been given to sufficient numbers of students." This year the History Section of the New York Society for the Experimental Study of Education has held three meetings on the subject of tests, and at each one we have started with the statement that we cannot yet evaluate the tests we have given. As a matter of fact, few of us have the time to do the work necessary to draw scientific conclusions; indeed, the experience of the History Section this winter leads me to believe that here in New York we lack time even to co-operate and amass systematic data which the research student may study, but I believe that that is what practicing teachers should do. So, we come to the old conclusion, "For the present, I can only give my general impressions."



No test or group of tests that I have seen accomplishes what I should like to see them do. However, an advantage of any of the new types is the saving of considerable time; a thing that in itself is not to be despised, but that is not, of course, a final criterion of value. Essentially these tests attempt to find out the degree of response of various individuals to various types of stimulus. You give students the regulation kind of question: "Write a paragraph on—" or "Compare this and that—" and you are asking them to remember something, to use good English expression, to analyze, to arrange and to form a judgment. In the newer types, you, at least, attempt to find out one thing at a time about your student: Can he remember? Quite a separate matter from: Can he use words correctly? A final advantage from the use of such tests is the aid in forming fairly homogeneous classroom groups to which the teaching may be adapted. I having been able to form such groups this term in first year civics on the basis of elementary school ratings, corrected by a uniform test given at the beginning of the third week and designed to discover two of the things necessary in Community Civics:

(1) Social response. This we attempted to rate by asking: "What would you do?" under specified social conditions.

(2) Ability to read with understanding. For this the students brought the day's number of one newspaper and we selected, just before the session began, some five articles of half-column length, on which questions with one-word answers were asked. This we judged more akin to the reading needed in Civics than material in the usual reading test, but this method precludes printing or mimeographing questions in advance; ours were read aloud not more than twice.

The second part of this test was far more successful than the first, but I feel that it is an achievement to have at least separated the average students from the slower ones and those with language difficulties from those who read easily.

In teaching any of the social sciences, there are certain kinds of response which we want, and the presence or absence of which makes us rate the student as good or bad. We should, therefore, like to devise types of tests to cover these responses one at a time, and group our students accordingly. I have seen nothing yet which covers the case, and certainly I have not been able to make a set of my own. I put it before you jointly and individually, as

a problem calling for co-operative experiment. There are five types of achievement or response which make for the students' success in the social sciences as taught in the secondary school.

(1) *The Ability to Read with Understanding.*

History in its nature cannot be anything but a book subject after you get past the stage of story-telling. Certainly, you can never get anywhere without the ability to read. It is surprising how nearly illiterate the entering high school student is. In the other social sciences it is only a little less true that the main materials are written.

(2) *A Good Memory.*

Let us decry "mere memory" as much as we like; the richer the associative memory, the more real the social or historical knowledge. What we decry is only meaningless or dissociated memorization; the whole value of the social sciences in daily living is that the present event calls up a complex network of memories. The mention of treasury refunding means to a well-trained student of society a mass of information on how our national debts were incurred, how previous national debts have been treated, the relation of our debts to European finance, and a vivid picture of the chain of action from taxpayer to bondholder; while to too many of our citizens it is a shadowy mystery. Or the day's article on the Ruhr situation carries the educated person back to the Oaths of Verdun and forward to foreboding, accompanied by judgments, and, more important, by fairly clear knowledge where to seek information to clear up disputed or doubtful points, while to those without associative memories, it is another tiresome example of the stupidity of the human race. We cannot expect our students to possess the complex network that comes from training, but we know they must differ in ability to associate and recall ideas readily; we, therefore, want to test them in that ability applied to social ideas and to group them in such a manner that we can adapt our teaching methods to their needs.

(3) *Ability to Classify.*

Classification is the basis of all analysis. It is fairly easy to test by giving out a mass of more or less related facts to be put under appropriate headings. A type I tried last winter with useful teaching results was a list of concrete governmental acts to be sorted into state, federal or concurrent powers when these ideas were being studied.



(4) *Power to detect an incorrect statement and at best to tell in what respects it is wrong.*

The commonest type of test now in use serves the first part of this purpose. The "true or false" type is very valuable for training both in careful home study and in watchfulness at the tricks of language. If guessing is penalized by subtracting "wrongs" from "rights" to secure the rating, it is not only a splendid means of diagnosing weaknesses in study, but has permanent social value, for most of the interested statements of propagandists would never obtain the influence they do if men and women had even a partial habit of expecting *some* printed statements to be false.

It is to be noted that these third and fourth purposes are largely dependent on a ready, associative memory; our experiments are very loose and rough; we never begin to isolate one element for testing in the intersection of the human mind; so these abilities might be considered special variants of memory that are not by any means always found together.

(5) *The Emotional Response Desired.*

We say we aim, through history teaching, to inculcate patriotism, or love of truth, or readiness for social co-operation, as our bent may lead us. We want to know whether we succeed at all. We want still more to know which students will respond readily, which very slowly or reluctantly, in order that we may adapt our methods to their needs. But of all things there are to test, this is without doubt the most difficult. Not only because we disagree or are somewhat vague about our aims, but because of the difficulty of finding actions or statements possible in the school environment which we may use as the basis of our test without descending to the merely pious and priggish sentiment that will probably never be translated into action, and is thus of no value as a criterion of social response.

In actual practice at present, the only tests that I have seen in use are those where a word is to be filled in testing reading or memory more or less usefully; or the true-false statements discussed under my fourth purpose. The studies based on them are still in a state of raw beginning. The only fairly extensive figures I have myself gathered are on a true-false test, given this spring at the Girls' Commercial High School to 353 students. The first part of the paper consisted of true and false statements, while the second part was of the conventional essay type. Thus



the old and new types were given under the same conditions and it is to be supposed that if a student failed on one part through nervousness, bad physical conditions or any other extraneous cause, she was likely to fail for the same reason on the other. Two-thirds, or 233, found the true-false test harder than the second part of the paper, to judge from the fact that they made lower relative marks. Ten students, or less than a third of one per cent., had identical ratings on both parts. To counterbalance that, it must be added that over 52 per cent. made ratings on the first part within ten points above or below that made on the second part. It is usually conceded, that with the necessarily inexact marking by any teacher of the essay type of examination, a variation of ten points above or below means little difference in the real rating. This still means, however, that about 40 per cent. of the students found the accuracy demanded by the new type test more exigent than the general question. If future tests by other teachers tend to substantiate these results there will be a definite gain in our standards of achievement; at the same time we shall be giving practice in a training that has intrinsic value.

To summarize the proven advantages of the new types of tests, I should say that they are useful as labor-saving devices in correcting large numbers of papers; that at least one type, the true-false, should have practical value in forming the good habit of scrutinizing statements somewhat critically; and that all types should enable us to make a closer analysis of our problems and accomplishments. But as far as testing our students' achievements at the end of a given period of instruction, I still believe that the best and most searching test is: "Write a paper on —"; "Make an extemporaneous speech on —," though it is humanly impossible to rate the answer exactly.

I should like to leave with you an hypothesis rather than a conclusion and to hope that you will all work on the problem of making, criticizing and evaluating these tests. My hypothesis is that we shall find them more valuable for prognosis than for the grading of achievement; that is, that with these tests, we can analyze the abilities needed for successful work in social science, and we can group students with like capacities or like needs on the basis of accurately obtained scores. Thus we can improve our methods with some certainty of knowing whether they are improved and we can save many a boy and girl from tedium, dislike of an essential

part of his education and all the other sad concomitants of "failure." But that these formal, exactly rated papers will ever prove what a real boy or girl gained from a well-taught lesson in the living stuff of social science, I for one shall find it hard to believe.

RUTH E. HARDY

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## NEW TYPES OF HISTORY TESTS

At the DeWitt Clinton High School, in New York, we used a new type of examination last December as a final examination for the boys completing the last half of the senior year. The work covered included American history since the Civil War and American government. The examination consisted of two parts, somewhat different in character. The directions for the first part were as follows: "In each of the twenty-one groups of this part there is not more than one correct statement and sometimes not even one. Go through the paper very slowly and place a check in the space after each answer you believe to be without any error. Don't check more than one answer in a group." One typical group of this part read as follows: "The free tolls provision concerning the Panama Canal provided—that no American vessel was to pay tolls in passing through the canal ( ); that no foreign vessel engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States was to pay tolls in passing through the canal ( ); that no vessel engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States was to pay tolls in passing through the canal ( )." Of these, the last was to be checked. In the following group no statement was supposed to be checked as correct: "The farmers of the West supported free silver in 1896 chiefly because—free silver meant more money in circulation and hence lower prices ( ); free silver meant lower cost of food ( ); free silver meant a greater demand for wheat, because it would be cheaper ( ); free silver meant less money in circulation ( )."

The second part of the examination consisted of eighty-two statements, preceded by the following directions: "You must judge for yourself how many of the following statements are correct. Put a check after each statement you believe to be correct." For example, the first statement given was: "The Emancipation Proclamation never freed any slaves, because it declared slaves

free where it could not be enforced." This, of course, was incorrect.

The paper was marked by the stencil method, all incorrect checks being deducted from the total number of correct checks. We felt that this examination gave us these four advantages: comprehensiveness, definiteness, in that all vagueness is avoided if the examination is carefully worded, elimination of the personal equation in marking, and speed of marking (about twenty an hour) although the average boy used nearly all of the hour and a half allowed for the examination. As a test it showed up every weak boy in the senior class, while the best boys got the best marks. In order to be fair to every boy, we made a ruling that no boy would be failed for the term until he was given a written examination of the old type as a further test of his knowledge and ability. In general, we were so well satisfied with the results that we are planning to give a similar test this term.

I wish to speak, also, about an application of the "Right or Wrong" test that we are now using perhaps three times a week in many of our classes. Each history teacher in our New York City high school has, on the average, about 170 pupils reciting to him daily, that is, he teaches five classes a day and these classes average about 34 each. The conditions we face, therefore, radically different from those in private schools, where teachers often have classes that are small enough to make possible a thorough knowledge on the part of the teacher each day of each student's preparation. It seems to me that good history teaching demands that all the members of the class come prepared each day on certain basic facts, which are to be the subject, not of drill, but of thought and of discussion during the recitation so that a realization of their relations to each other, to the problems of the present, and to their practical bearings on the pupil's own life make them vital to the pupil. Through self-activity the pupil must use these facts in as many ways as possible during the recitation period. The problem is, how the teacher of 170 pupils each day is to insure, first, that his pupils are first well-prepared on the day's lesson and, secondly, that they are led to make use of these facts in a valuable thought process.

Good teachers solve that problem in various ways and it is probably for the best that no one way is used day after day by any teacher. The "Right or Wrong" test of which I am now



speaking is simply one more means of attacking the problem. When we use the test in class, each boy is provided with two slips of paper, two by three inches in size. On each of these he writes the date, his name, and, ordinarily, the numbers from 1 to 10 inclusive, the two papers being duplicates. Ten statements, preferably one or two of them bearing on the lesson of the day before and the remainder dealing with the lesson for the day, are read to the class slowly by numbers. Each boy forms a judgment at once as to whether the statement is right or wrong and puts down opposite the number on each paper a check if he believes it to be right, a zero if he believes it to be wrong. As soon as the test is over, one set, which we call the "control set," is collected and handed to the teacher. The other set remains in the hands of the class for discussion if the teacher so chooses. If the teacher wishes to use it as a test only, without discussion, he simply indicates how the paper should have been marked and each boy marks his own paper, which, of course, will correspond to the mark given by the teacher, or by some pupil selected by him, on the control set. As a boy with no preparation has a fifty per cent. chance of guessing each answer, provided the rights and wrongs are about equal (and we try to make them equal in the long run, although not necessarily on any given day), each mistake is made to count double so that if a boy gets just half of them right his mark is zero. If he gets nine right out of ten, his mark is eight and so on.

Of course, the bare test without discussion does fairly well to test preparation and it may be completed and marked in six or seven minutes; but the educational part of the test is fully realized only when it is discussed. Each statement is then read once more, pupils are asked for their reasons for marking it right or wrong, and a decision is then rendered by the teacher as to which it is. In this way each pupil has a vital interest in the discussion for he has already expressed himself and has something at stake in the whole affair; and the ten statements have probably covered all the really important things in the lesson. In addition, he knows his mark as soon as the discussion of the test is over, and he is satisfied that the mark is mathematically accurate. Arguments wax hot, but the statements must be so worded as to leave no room for any difference of opinion at the end as to whether they are right or wrong. Matters of opinion, therefore, have no place in the statements, and the teacher who makes out the statements, particularly if he wishes to bring out the reasoning power of his

pupils, will find it no easy task to prepare ten good statements for a lesson. In fact, one of the by-products of the test is that it compels careful preparation for each recitation on the part of the teacher.

Here are a few samples of statements taken from these daily tests: "A depositor, according to our textbooks, cannot lose money in a national bank because the United States government guarantees the safety of deposits." This was, of course, to bring out the distinction between the guarantee of the bank notes, and the absence of guarantee of deposits. A question of this kind requires some thought to see whether the truth of the statement may be inferred from any statement in the work assigned for the day. A statement connected with the Monroe Doctrine was made as follows: "If the Island of Jamaica in the British West Indies were to revolt from Great Britain today, the Monroe Doctrine would demand that we intervene against Great Britain if she attempted to put down the revolt."

These incorrect statements are, of course, open to the objection that, as a boy put it to me the first day one of these tests was given, an incorrect statement is read impressively as a correct one, and, hence, may make a boy remember it as a truth. The answer to this is that when the boy hears the statement he takes a critical attitude toward it, knowing that it has a 50 per cent. chance of being wrong; and this critical attitude is a desirable thing to teach to our boys and girls who are inclined to accept as absolutely true any statement seen anywhere in print or made impressively by an orator. A more serious objection is that the test allows no chance for expression on the part of the pupil. The remedy here lies, first, in excusing a few boys from the test and having them write at length; and, secondly, in encouraging thorough discussion before the final decision on a question is rendered. Nevertheless, the objection is a real one and argues against the over-use of this form of test.

The majority of the boys like the test, while admitting that they have to prepare their lessons more thoroughly than ever before. One of the leaders of the school, a boy not in one of my own classes, said to his teacher: "I like these tests, for they frequently call to my attention things I have misunderstood, and which without the tests I should probably have continued to misunderstand."

Each teacher has it within his own power to make these tests as difficult as he pleases. Personally, I prefer to put in a good many statements that demand reasoning and then make an adjustment of marks later, if necessary. With my two classes this term, having in all 69 boys, I achieved a high correlation with the marks received by the same boys on one of my own written examinations. All the teachers using these tests say that they give them an idea of the work of each boy earlier in the term than any other system that they have yet tried.

In spite of these things in its favor, I beg to remind you once more that the "Right or Wrong" daily test constitutes simply only one more means of attacking our problem. I believe, however, that properly used, it will be of help, particularly to teachers who must deal with very large numbers of pupils every day.

F. E. MOYER

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## EVALUATING THE AIMS AND OUTCOMES OF HISTORY

Today, history is taught in American schools because it is believed essential for citizenship training. Curriculum-makers and teachers have organized courses around this as the chief outcome of the study of history. They have, also, listed many subordinate aims which may be grouped, however, around this central purpose.

A study of the books and articles on the teaching of history and analyses of question-blanks of history teachers enables one to classify the statements found in such sources as follows:<sup>1</sup>

### CLASSIFICATION OF AIMS AND OUTCOMES OF THE STUDY OF HISTORY

| Aim                                                                                                                                                              | Number<br>of mentions<br>out of a to-<br>tal of 59 | Per cent of<br>teachers<br>stressing<br>aim in<br>Koos<br>study |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Facts, acquisition of knowledge.....                                                                                                                          | 18                                                 | 65%                                                             |
| 2. General phrase "citizenship training".....                                                                                                                    | 22                                                 | 76%                                                             |
| 3. Method of studying, use of books.....                                                                                                                         | 14                                                 | 73%                                                             |
| 4. Training certain "powers," such as memory,<br>judgment and imagination.....                                                                                   | 29                                                 | 72%                                                             |
| 5. Inculcation of patriotism and nationalism...                                                                                                                  | 17                                                 | 50%                                                             |
| 6. Broadening the pupil's point of view.....                                                                                                                     | 28                                                 | 0%                                                              |
| 7. Training in seeing casual relationships.....                                                                                                                  | 17                                                 | 0%                                                              |
| 8. Miscellaneous (includes development of the<br>critical attitude, appreciations, scientific<br>habits of thought, ability in speech, oral<br>and written)..... | 31                                                 | 69%                                                             |

We, as history teachers, assert that if pupils read and study history, if they learn facts and acquire information and discuss it in their classes, if they read additional materials, if they make outlines and maps and keep notebooks; if they do any or all of the many activities that specialists in the teaching of history advocate as good practice, they will become better citizens, they will become more patriotic, they will acquire sound habits of study

<sup>1</sup>This table is based upon an analysis of 69 books, magazine articles and courses of study and upon the question-blank studies of H. H. Gold, *The School Review*, vol. 25, pages 88-100, 177-195 and 274-282; and L. V. Koos, *Supplementary Monographs*, vol. 1, No. 3. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1917.

and they will be able to judge better what is good and what is bad in civic affairs. Some even insist that the study of history will train them to use their leisure time more wisely by stimulating "taste for reading."

No one, I think, would gainsay the "worthwhileness" of part or, perhaps, of all of these aims and values claimed for the study of history by school children. I certainly am willing to accept them as *tentative* aims; as hypotheses or theories of what the outcomes of history *may be* or *ought to be*. But are they not just "opinions"? If one searches the literature on the teaching of history one finds little quantitative evidence that would substantiate these hypotheses. Even upon the relatively simple aim "acquisition of knowledge" we find only *negative evidence*.<sup>2</sup>

My main thesis in this paper is that history teachers must *justify* their subject by the use of the relatively objective methods of research that are now available and that are in use by specialists in other subjects. History is not to be taken or accepted, as one eminent specialist in the field once said, like religion, "just on faith." Must we not ask ourselves constantly: Does the study of history result in pupils gaining the information, habits, skills, attitudes, and ideals that curriculum-makers and teachers now think are produced? It seems to me that we should employ the knowledge and tools of education and psychology today to discover as nearly as is possible the answer to this question. We must "check" these tentative aims. We must find out whether they are actually attained or to what extent they are realized.

Already we have evidence in other school subjects on this very point. Standardized tests in arithmetic, spelling, reading, algebra,

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<sup>2</sup>Practically the only test results that historians furnish school people are *negative* ones—the high percentages of failures in history and civics of high school pupils taking college entrance examinations. The report of the Secretary of the College Entrance Examination Board for 1920 shows that 63.8 per cent. of candidates taking the college entrance examinations in Ancient History *failed* to pass and that 51.8 per cent *failed* in American History (i. e., *failed* to make the passing grade of 60). In 1921 and 1922 there was a decrease in the percentage of failures, but the total is still high enough to maintain the conclusion above stated. Bell and McCullom report (*Journal of Educational Psychology*, vol. 8, page 284) similar low test results on simple tests in American History given to pupils in elementary, high and normal schools. Only 33 per cent. of the facts called for on the tests were retained by secondary school children (650 pupils) and 16 per cent. by children in grades 6–8 (550 pupils.)

and other subjects are now in wide use. It is not my purpose to describe their values or their uses. They do enable teachers to discover with a decided increase of accuracy the achievements of their pupils and to compare such achievements of the pupils with the test results of pupils in other grades and schools. They also help the teacher ascertain the degree to which the objectives that she sets for herself in those subjects are *attained*.

I recognize that verifying the aims of a *content* subject like history is much more difficult than determining objectives of *skill* subjects like arithmetic, spelling or reading. For a time we may have to confine our efforts chiefly to testing *facts*. If we concentrate upon this one goal and if we use all the knowledge and technique available concerning the "worthwhileness" of the facts that we teach we can very likely decidedly improve the percentage of simple facts of history retained by pupils. Is not this very likely the first step? If pupils on examinations now fail to the extent pointed out, something is wrong. If it be that they are taught too much, then let us find out in a scientific way what are the basic essentials and let us employ all of the psychology of learning and retention available to make certain that these facts *are mastered*.

One worker in the field of history testing, Dr. B. R. Buckingham, has advanced a theory which if substantiated by further study makes the need for emphasizing the retention of facts even more necessary. He asserts that there is a marked relationship between the ability of a pupil to remember and ability to think in history.<sup>3</sup> In the light of this hypothesis should we not increase our emphasis upon the retention of facts?

Of course we need to study the possibility of measuring the other values that I have mentioned. Perhaps when we turn to the study of ways and means for testing reasoning ability, judgment, inculcation of patriotism, and sound habits of study, we shall have to resort to another kind of technique. We may not be able to set up written tests of the sort that are effective in the measurement of facts. We may have to resort to objective judgments and to a different kind of performance tests; for example, some kind of a score card which will rate the ability of a pupil to find material in the library. Frankly, we do not yet know in

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<sup>3</sup>*School and Society*, vol. 5, pages 443-448, and *Proceedings of the Illinois High School Conference*, 1919.



detail the methodology to be pursued in testing these abilities. I merely call attention to the necessity of studying these problems if we are to justify what are probably "intangible" values and that are believed to inhere in the study of history.

What is the chief means of testing history study in the schools today? Most teachers use the essay type of examination. They give, let us say, ten questions and grade these ten questions on the basis of 100 per cent. (i. e., 10 per cent. for each question). Recent research would cast grave doubt concerning the reliability of grading examinations of this type. I also doubt that history teachers who use this method attempt to determine the relative difficulty of such questions. For example, a study of ten such typical questions would very likely show from the actual ability of hundreds of pupils to answer them that some questions are two, three, or five times as difficult as others. But it is possible to standardize certain types of essay questions so that the relative difficulty of each is known. This knowledge should be employed in the field of history testing if history teachers persist in using this type of examination.

One other point before I turn to the conclusion of my remarks. Suppose your principal should say to you at the beginning of the school year, I want you this week to give me a statement of the aims you are to work for this year. And I want you to report to me at the end of January and in June, with relatively objective evidence, test results, etc.—the degree to which your aims have been reached. What would your method of procedure be?

First, you might say, "I am going to make certain that my pupils *know* and *retain their knowledge* of certain events, topics, personages, dates, etc., in each history course that I teach." Let us grant that you are correct in selecting the socially worthwhile essentials and that you teach these basic facts that you have selected with a high degree of skill; that you utilize the psychology of learning so that provision for review and relearning is made. Ought not you to be able to say in January and June, "Mr. Principal, at the beginning of the year my pupils knew these minimal essentials of history with *blank* accuracy; during the semester and year they have increased to *blank* per cent?" Should you not have records that will tell you, or the principal, or the pupils, and their parents the progress of the pupils and of your classes?

Now, suppose besides this aim of teaching to the point of mastery certain essential facts you also aimed to teach pupils how to

study; how to read economically and efficiently, how to get the central idea from a paragraph or a chapter; how to outline and make summaries; how to use the school library—should you not employ a method by means of which you would gain evidence of their progress in reading, of their ability to select the central ideas, of their skill in making outlines, or the facility with which they find reference material in the school library?

Could you not also determine the degree to which pupils improve their ability to use good English? English teachers complain that their efforts to maintain high standards in English are nullified very considerably because other teachers do not co-operate in this aim. Could you not co-operate and obtain data that will tell those concerned whether the study of history does not increase a pupil's ability to use correct English?

I recognize that such a method requires a great deal of detailed study. Very likely several years would be required to obtain such data. But is not this a method that could be pursued until in the course of a few years we would have collected considerable evidence concerning what are attainable aims in the teaching of history, what values can be tested, and how, in short, what objectives are probably valid?

Already there are some teachers who are at work upon this problem. We need many more to make studies along the lines that I have indicated. Then, I believe, that we can say what are the attainable aims of history teaching, and we can particularly tell that great army of beginning teachers (who need such guidance most of all) how to check the objectives of history. Once the methods of verifying these very desirable aims are outlined, and teachers are directed definitely to seek these goals, can we not look for citizens whose actions and decisions are based upon evidence, serious reflection, and careful judgment rather than upon insufficient information, prejudices, and a tendency to impulsive, unthinking action? That kind of an objective, it seems to me, is the major purpose of citizenship training to which we, as history teachers, must dedicate ourselves.

EARLE RUGG

## STANDARD TESTS IN HISTORY\*

Teachers in elementary and secondary schools have, in a large measure, attempted to satisfy their needs for comprehensive examinations by the use of one or both of two devices. The first is the conventional written examination of the essay type. The second is the use of the "standardized" examinations which have, in the main, been constructed by experts in psychology or experimental education. Both of these are, for particular purposes, admirable practices.

The essay examination is of considerable value particularly for the purpose of giving the pupil a certain training in organization and consecutive expression. The standardized examination is of value mainly in affording a comparison of achievements in certain fundamental matters of one school with others. Its value lies mainly in the universality of its currency.

For many years (at least ten) Professor Thorndike and others have been studying the relative merits of different types of examinations in college classes. It has been fairly well demonstrated that the development of examinations patterned in type after the standardized tests, but made by the teacher and including the content of his own subject, is perhaps superior either to the published forms of test or the old essay type of examination. These informal objective examinations take the form of the true-false examination, the selection test in which the student underlines the proper one of four or more suggested responses, or a test in which the answer is given by a single word or figure. The differences in the merits of these types are in general small, and one may use one type or another depending upon his purpose. If one's purpose is merely to ascertain the relative merits of the students in the class, the true-false is satisfactory, but if one wishes to know what facts the students know or do not know the true-false is unsatisfactory, whereas the single word response is most satisfactory.

In a careful study of several types of examinations recently concluded in my own classes in Teachers College during the last five years, I have found unequivocal evidence of the superiority

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\*A resume of the discussion of several papers on the construction of tests in history as made by A. I. Gates, Associate Professor, of Education, Educational Psychology, Teachers College.

of the objective type of test for measuring relative achievements of students. I see no reason why the same results should not be obtained in secondary or primary schools.

It should be understood that these informal objective tests are not designed to supplant the essay examination or the standardized test, on the contrary, they serve to supplement them.

More important than statistical devices for grading papers and manipulating results, far more important than scaling results or securing the age and grade norms, is the construction of good questions. The defect, of which teachers of history are aware, in the standardized examinations, lies in the questions themselves. They have been made by the psychologist or statistical worker whose acquaintance with the content and methods of teaching of history was slight. As a result, the questions are, many of them, quite obviously imperfect. The remedy here is not in the criticism of these efforts, but in an attack upon the problem by history teachers. It is quite as obvious to technical workers as to teachers of history, that the latter should make up the questions and problems for examinations in that subject. The very best technical device for examination will fail entirely if the contents of the questions and exercises are not well chosen and well phrased. The most important thing of all is the development of questions both worth asking and adequate to the task of examination.

It is sometimes urged that the objective examinations call too exclusively for facts and do not utilize sufficient capacities to judge, reason, criticise and apply. This is probably true, but the fault is not in the form of the test; rather it is in the inadequacy of the work of constructing the particular questions. This is a fault which teachers of history must remedy. We have in our courses in psychology found it entirely possible, in fact, rather easy to construct questions that do not have their answer depend merely upon information, but rather require abilities to apply and judge. There is every reason to believe that this may also be done in history.

I should like to suggest finally that teachers in various schools and in various localities cooperate in the construction and circulation of good examination material. It would be an experiment well worth the time if, to your convention next year, many of you could bring lists of several hundred questions which you have developed and tried out during the year. These might be dis-



tributed with the result that all could return with a large stock of material, and perhaps, with some knowledge of the success of other schools upon these particular examination items.

In sum, the form of the objective test is merely a shell. It merely suggests a plan of procedure that has proved extremely successful. The task of filling the shells with useful content is the task for the teachers of history themselves. The statistical elaborations which frighten some of us are of relatively slight importance. The main thing is the construction of first rate questions. Teachers can cooperate in this task to the individual advantage of all.

ARTHUR I. GATES

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## THE WORLD COMMUNITY

The world community exists today regardless of whether anybody wants it or not. Since it does exist the people of the world must use it or become its victims. Perhaps the supreme civic problem of the time is the problem of intelligent control of this world community.

A community is a group with numerous common interests, people whose affairs are in many respects interwoven, among whom the many factors of general concern make the acts of one an aid or a menace to all. During the greater part of human history the community relationship has been most apparent in the neighborhood, and the word has thus established for itself a connotation of locality, since it is in the immediate vicinity that interdependence is most obvious. Yet the entire history of man, his development from primitive beginnings, may be viewed in terms of community. Such a study would show that the enlargement or contraction of communities has been concurrent with the rise and decline of states and empires and in no slight degree parallels the advancement and regression of civilization.

Civilization could never have developed but for the capacity of men to coöperate. The primitive hunting pack, the loosely controlled tribe, the ancient city state, are all stages of community organization. The ancient empires were in part artificial constructions based on pride and greed, yet associated as cause or effect, or both, with community expansion. This process reached its climax in the organization of the western world under Rome. The disintegration of the Roman Empire may be viewed

as the breaking up of a community prematurely overgrown, one that required for its permanence a greater mastery of applied science, a deeper knowledge of economic law, and a higher skill in political organization than man had yet achieved. The catastrophe might be described by saying that the Mediterranean world, at least partly and incipiently a community, lacked the knowledge, wisdom and skill to organize and control so large and varied a group, which gradually became enfeebled and fell apart.

There followed a time when for generations the elementary community needs of protection of person and property were the interests of primary concern and out of such conditions arose Feudalism to meet the requirements of a society in which land was the only basis of wealth, and strong local authority was the chief essential of government. The rise of united monarchies out of declining Feudalism was the result of something much more important than the progressive ascendancy of a noble family of superior energy, intelligence and luck. It was concurrent with the revival of industry and trade, with the growth of cities and of money economy—in short, with a steady enlargement of community interests. Community needs such as uniform business laws and common currency, safe and improved roads with general police regulations, a minimum of vexatious obstructions and taxation of trade, were promoted and in turn aided by the growth of royal power. Throughout modern times the same influences have been at work though with democracy steadily replacing despotism since the closing quarter of the 18th century and with a rapid growth during the same period of that curious and portentous manifestation of crowd psychology known as nationalism.

The most revolutionary change of history was the coming of the age of invention and applied science inaugurated by the industrial revolution which began in England in the closing quarter of the 18th century. This transformation led immediately to an enormous and progressive expansion of the community, for it involved the continuous reduction of distance and ever increasing swiftness of communication, a growing tendency toward regional specialization in production of commodities and an immense increase in the amount and range of commerce. Such changes involved a steadily growing interdependence of sections, and of countries, and of continents. In short, practical science has been building a world community and the cords that bind

it have been growing ever stronger, more numerous and more intricately interwoven. Our community is no longer local, a mere neighborhood. It has grown constantly and during the last century has expanded with ever increasing rapidity until today it is the wide world.

All of us now live our daily lives as a part of this world community. The clothing we wear and the food we eat, the furnishings of our homes and offices and factories and the apparatus that warms and lights them, the fuel that drives the cars that carry us to work, the tools and implements that we use, the cab or the automobile in which we ride, the books and magazines we read, the motion-pictures we view—these things represent materials gathered from a hundred remote places of the continent and the earth, fashioned for our use by the men and women of many states and nations. Our morning paper at the breakfast table informs us the happenings of a few hours ago in Russia, China or the South Seas. A strike of miners or dock-workers in England may cause instant hardship in the heart of America. A squabble of nationalist extremists in eastern Europe may have its definite influences in England or Japan. The pistol of a fanatic in the Balkans precipitates a world war and costs our own country a 100,000 lives and tens of billions of treasure.

We have indeed a world community. For most practical purposes it is smaller than was France or England a century and a half ago. The World War and its aftermath have demonstrated beyond all question the interdependence of the countries and the continents, and the startling enlargement of their common interests.

If our schools are going to pretend to educate for citizenship they must recognize as a simple matter of fact the existence of this community. It is a reality whether we like it or not. With the progress of science the community interests of the entire world will increase rather than diminish and there is no conceivable way by which this process can be checked. At least there is none that we should care to contemplate. If men do not find some way to avoid the use of practical science for the purposes of destruction, it is indeed possible that there may result some colossal disaster leading to a world-wide disintegration analogous to that which once occurred in the Roman Empire.

Is it anything more than a matter of common sense and frank recognition of fact to accept the challenge of this world community

that is now a reality, and because it is a reality and one of supreme significance, a subject of the first importance in civic education? No one yet knows how to organize this world community and no one has the solution of the problem of universal peace. No one knows whether there is such a solution. Yet the fact of that world community remains and faces us. It is not the business of the teacher to carry on propaganda for any special proposals, nor should it be insisted that he be for armament or disarmament, for the League of Nations or against it, a militarist or a pacifist. His spirit and temper, however, are vitally important. Is he willing to learn and to teach the most essential objective facts about this world community and to give the pupils of the high school, at least, some acquaintance with the chief opinions and points of view of students of international relations and some training and practice in the study of the more important problems?

High school pupils in their study of history may see this world community evolving. Through geography and economics they may learn something of its structure and its inevitableness. The social studies program should include some analysis of the fundamental factors in international relations and of the influences that determine war and peace—the necessary consequences of the sovereignty of states, the characteristics of nationalism and its operation both for good and for evil, the inevitable rivalries for markets and trade and fields of investment and the various aspects of modern imperialism, the secrecy and exemption from democratic control as well as the utter selfishness and unscrupulousness that commonly characterize the diplomacy of all countries, the anxiety for strong natural boundaries and for military and naval security.

These things are a part of the world community in which we live. It is not our business as teachers to tell the high school pupils which of the many opinions about these things are "right" but it is our business to make them keenly and seriously aware of these conditions and problems and of the numerous complexities and difficulties of bringing about a workable organization of our world community, and even of removing to any great extent the causes of international strife. No clearer demonstration of the need of such education can be cited than the disastrous consequences of our own lack of intellectual preparedness during the great War. So intent were our rulers and leaders of public



opinion upon stimulating what was supposed to be the necessary war psychology, that when the crucial moment came to reap the fruits of that long and bloody struggle, our people did not understand the issues or the problems. Millions of well-meaning people committed the incredible folly of assuming that the mere defeat of Germany would bring in an era of universal and enduring peace.

Out of the disillusionment that was bound to follow has grown indifference, cynicism and in America the desire to live more or less in isolation from the rest of the world. Every really educated person knows that this is impossible. Every student of the social sciences must be aware of the existence of the world community, even though he has never used the term. It is, then, a plea for realism in education, for a frank facing of the facts of life as they are, to urge that the whole subject of international relations should be a very prominent part of the social studies in our schools. Opinions may differ as to whether the facts and problems should be studied through the organized courses in history, economics and geography, or through composite courses, or by some system of problem attack. The personal views of teachers, may vary widely. What I urge is that it should be possible for all persons, except the blindest extremists of pacifism or of militarism and nationalism, to agree upon the necessity of studying conditions and problems in this field of international relations. If this could be done and if in time our teachers could be reasonably well prepared for the work, there might be hope that men would ultimately find the ways of organizing and controlling their world community for the welfare and happiness of peoples.

J. MONTGOMERY GAMBRILL

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## SOME REFLECTIONS ON NATIONALISM

Intense national patriotism is such an obvious and universal mark of the present age that few persons outside of professional historians recognize it as a product of modern times. Only one of its roots is very ancient and truly primitive, and this is a *sense of loyalty*, which, springing from man's gregarious nature, may be said to be as old as man himself. Certainly throughout the whole span of recorded history some manifestation of loyalty has been a distinguishing badge of normal human beings. Sometimes it has been loyalty to persons, as to tribal chieftains or to supposedly divine monarchs or to feudal lords or to fellow members of a caste, a clan, a guild, or a club. Sometimes it has been loyalty to places, as to grove or stream, to thatched cottage or marble palace, to natal home or tomb of the ancestral dead, to pastoral hillsides, fertile plains, or great busy cities. Sometimes it has been loyalty to ideas, as to a religion, a political philosophy, a programme of social reform, or an economic system. At all times man has simultaneously applied his sense of loyalty, quite naturally and without nice discrimination, to ideas, places, and persons.

To conceive of all persons who speak the same language and inhabit a definite portion of the Earth's surface as a nation, regardless of how else they may differ among themselves, and to educate them to make their natural loyalties to their several hearthstones or social classes or traditional religions strictly subordinate to an artificially stimulated loyalty to the nation, this is nationalism. It is a modern, almost a recent, phenomenon.

Antiquity knew it not. Ancient Egyptians were united in the bonds of a common loyalty to the sacred River Nile and to the sun-sprung Pharaoh, but the ordinary dwellers in Thebes and Memphis were hardly conscious of any claims of nationality superior to the claims of their Pharaoh and their priests; their's was not, strictly speaking, a national state, and nationalism was not encouraged by the long line of Pharaohs, whose constant hieroglyph, chiselled on tomb and temple thousands of years ago, still reminds us that they aimed at a dominion on which the sun would never set. Phoenicians and Greeks alike were human in that they manifested the sense of loyalty in many ways, especially in worship of certain deities and in devotion to particular cities,

but neither people was modern: they never constructed national states and their wars were chiefly interurban rather than international. The Romans had intense patriotism, but their patriotism was an expression of loyalty not to all persons who spoke the Latin language but to the little city of the seven hills with its legendary gods and heroes; and with the expansion of the city-state of Rome into an empire which encircled the Mediterranean and embraced Egyptian and Celt, Parthian and Moor, Teuton and Greek, the local patriotism of the native Roman changed to pride in world-imperialism, without passing through the intermediate stage of nationalism, while among the subject provincials the assurance of the Pax Romana by Roman law and Roman legions became an object of general loyalty, which, however, was always supplementary to local loyalties rather than a substitute for them.

The Jews were no exception to the rule of antiquity, despite the perfervid rhapsodies of contemporary Zionists. A re-reading of the Hebrew Scriptures should show that the "chosen people" did not think of themselves as singularly blest and set apart simply because they spoke Hebrew and lived in Palestine and constituted a national state. As a matter of fact, Palestine was not their original home; they had to conquer it and at a date when Egypt was already old; and even the semblance of a united national state survived with them an exceedingly brief time. The Jews were a "chosen people" because they believed in Yahweh and the law revealed by Him, and the foreigner who would proclaim in the words of Ruth to Naomi that "Thy God shall be my God" was admitted to full membership without embarrassing questions as to racial stock or linguistic accomplishment or as to whether the quota of immigrants from the applicant's nation was full. Historically, both in ancient times and throughout the middle ages and even down into modern times, the Jews have been not so much a nation as adherents to a religion.

During the thousand years which separate Luther and Machiavelli from Pope Gregory the Great and which we designate, for lack of a better term, the Middle Ages, there are few signs of nationalism anywhere in Europe. The European during this long period, had many loyalties—to the Catholic Church, to bishop or abbot, to parish priest, to lay lord, to tribal chieftain, to duke or count or baron, to guild of merchants or of craftsmen, to manor or town, to realism or nominalism, to St. Francis or St. Dominic, to pope or emperor, to Christendom in arms against Islam. There was un-

doubtedly a nascent consciousness of national differences in the later Middle Age, the result of the crusades, of the rise of vernacular literature, and of the ambitious efforts of monarchs in western Europe, but if there was an object of popular loyalty superior to all others it was not the nation but Christendom. If a man whose native tongue was French encountered a fellow Christian whose native tongue was English, both men were fully aware of a difference but they were quite as aware of a similarity; and it should be remembered that Joan of Arc, who is now hailed as a saint of French nationalism, appeared on battlefields of the Hundred Years' War, not in response to the appeals of a nationalistic press or the pressure of a patriotic draft-board and not in conformity with the example of national heroes as set forth in hundred per cent. French text-books of history, but simply and solely in answer to "voices" which she heard from God and Christ. It should be remembered, moreover, that Joan of Arc fought for one claimant to the throne of France against another, who, though simultaneously king of England, reigned over half of France and was supported by many French-speaking people. It should be remembered, too, that Joan of Arc was put to death, not by Englishmen but by Frenchmen, not for being a foreigner, a sort of forerunner of Edith Cavell, but for being an obstinate heretic and an advanced feminist; she dressed like a man and was therefore "possessed of the devil."

It is not needful for our present purpose to trace the actual steps in the rise of contemporary nationalism. It suffices here to call attention to the fact that the phenomenon did not exist, at least in its current form and emphasis, in ancient times or in the middle ages, and to offer a few general suggestions as to why it came to full fruition only in our own day.

Several factors cooperated unconsciously from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century for the conception and gestation of nationalism. One was the development of vernacular languages as vehicles for great literary expression, exemplified in the Italian of Dante, Petrarch, and Machiavelli, in the French of Rabellais, Montaigne, and Calvin, in the English of Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakspeare, in the Portuguese of Camoens, in the Spanish of Cervantes, in the German of Luther. Another was the activity of certain able and forceful monarchs, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by methods none too scrupulous, consolidated their realms and more by chance than by design constructed a system of national states in western Europe. A third was the



Protestant Reformation, which, by disrupting the Catholic Church and subjecting common Christianity to national variations in form and substance, destroyed much of the intellectual and moral cement which had long held European peoples together and at the same time gave religious sanction to the notion already latent in each people that it and it alone possessed a pure faith and a divine mission. A fourth factor was the economic expansion of Europe, the explorations and discoveries and overseas trading and colonization, which, promoted chiefly by the national monarchs of western Europe, immediately redounded to the prestige of themselves and the wealth of their subjects and ultimately established the popular conviction that all distant economic undertakings of any European must be applauded by his compatriots and protected by his national government—a conviction which has been peculiarly fruitful of international animosities and wars right down to the Great War of 1914, and of which the end is not yet in sight.

From the close of the eighteenth century—the era of the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, and the commencement of factory-production in industry—dates the rapid and ubiquitous rise of nationalism as we now know it. The overthrow of divine-right monarchy and the effective assertion of the doctrine of popular sovereignty had far-reaching results. The most obvious result, the result which has been most discussed, was the inauguration and spread of political democracy in every country affected by the revolution. Another result, even more important for our present purposes, was the growing insistence upon the right of a group of people to secede from a state of which they constituted a linguistic minority and either by independent action or by association with peoples of the same or kindred language in another state to erect a new and unified sovereign state based on nationalism. Hitherto most European countries had been simply geographical entities, each having been integrated by popular loyalty to a monarch, and whatever consciousness of common nationality existed among the monarch's subjects had been quite incidental. Henceforth, however, under the operation of the principle of self-determination, which was but a natural corollary to the principle of popular sovereignty, each European state was solidified in measure as its inhabitants willed to be a nation and to constitute a national state.

Education has been the outstanding means of propagating the doctrine of self-determination in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, education through great state-directed systems of schools, education also through systems of universal, compulsory military training under national auspices, and education finally through the rapid cheapening and multiplication of nationalistic newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines.

All this education has been made possible only by the profound economic and social transformations which have characterized modern civilization from the eighteenth to the twentieth century and which collectively are described nowadays as the Industrial Revolution. Population has prodigiously increased since the advent of power-driven machinery, and the very vastness of our modern cities, a natural accompaniment of factory-production and wholesale trading, has provided favorable and fertile fields for popular, mass-education of every kind. Time and space have been lessened by the steamship, the railway, and the motor car and almost annihilated by telegraph, telephone, and radio, and thereby rural communities have been brought within the educational orbit of the cities. Journalism and warfare have alike been revolutionized both by mechanical developments and by increased numbers of human beings. It has become possible in our own day to print newspapers cheaply and to sell them widely. It has become practicable in our own time to arm an entire nation against another and to kill on a large scale scientifically.

Nationalism appears full-blown when the long germinating popular consciousness of nationality comes into contact with political democracy and the Industrial Revolution. This happened in the nineteenth century. Political democracy, to succeed, had to have its people literate and therefore needed popular education; the Industrial Revolution made it possible to build and conduct common schools throughout the length and breadth of every industrialized country; and the schools soon became centres of propaganda in behalf of the one thing which all the teachers and pupils had in common, namely, the sense that they spoke the same language and were citizens of the same national state, that is, nationalism. Similarly, political democracy, to succeed, had to defend itself against attacks of monarchs and aristocrats and therefore needed armed force; the Industrial Revolution made it practicable to equip, train, and lead to war huge armies of the

whole citizenry; and the citizens could be marshalled and disciplined for military purposes by appeals to what they had received in common from their schooling, namely, the sense that they spoke the same language and were citizens of the same national state, that is, nationalism. In like manner, political democracy, to succeed, had to have its people informed of current events and therefore needed a popular press; the Industrial Revolution hurried news through the air, put steam and electricity to printing presses, and distributed news-sheets with despatch; and the masses would pay for the new journalism if they were reenforced in the faith in which they had been reared at school and in army, namely, that they spoke the same language and were citizens of the same national state, that is, the faith of nationalism.

In our modern national states, individual citizens still retain many if not most of those loyalties to particular persons, special places, and peculiar ideas that have marked the human race since the dawn of history. The loyalty of the present-day American to a political boss, a secret lodge, a church, a trade union, a New England village, or a Southern plantation, is different in degree but not in kind from loyalties of ancient Roman, Jew, and Egyptian. But nowadays, and herein lies a fundamental difference between us and our ancient and medieval forbears, the individual subordinates all other loyalties to national loyalty. This is nationalism. It is the result of modern development, accentuated by the Industrial Revolution and by the triumph of popular sovereignty. Nationalism has become with us the supreme expression of human loyalty because it meets the exigencies of large-scale teaching of children, large-scale selling of newspapers, and large-scale killing of soldiers. Nationalism is in the ascendant.

## II.

The present generation has a curious hobby of at least pretending to like a thing not because it has intrinsic excellence but solely because it is new. In some quarters this hobby is interpreted as "progress". Indeed the proverbial Man from Mars, appreciating the temper of our age and informed of the current vogue of nationalism on Earth, might reasonably conjecture that nationalism is extolled by us because it is modern. He would be right, as I have sought to show, in guessing that it is modern; he might truthfully

say that it is very modern; but he would be wrong in concluding that its modernity is the cause of its popularity.

The chief reason for the obvious popularity of nationalism is the demonstrable fact that it has become to a vast number of people a veritable religion, capable of arousing emotions which are essentially religious. To this aspect of nationalism let us now address ourselves.

From the dawn of history man has been distinguished by what may be called a "religious sense", that is, a mysterious faith in something outside of himself, a faith usually attended by external acts and ceremonial. Everywhere you find its expression, in the caves of primitive men, in the pyramids of Egypt, in the laws of Moses, in the words of the Delphic oracle, in the tended fire of the Vestal virgins. You find it enshrined in great religious systems, such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, which throughout the centuries have counted their devotees by billions. As always, so today we feel its spell.

Apparently the "religious sense" is so ingrained in man that he must give expression to it in one way or another. He may lose faith in a particular religion, but if so he devotes himself consciously or unconsciously to another object of worship. It may be worship of science or of humanity, as well as of Christ or of Buddha, but it involves an experience, an emotion, which is essentially religious.

In this connection, it is an arresting fact that that century—the eighteenth—which witnessed in western Europe the bitter attacks of Voltaire and other "enlightened" philosophers upon "supernatural" religion and ecclesiastical institutions and which registered the loosening hold of traditional Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, on the intellectual classes, witnessed also the French Revolution, and with it the enthronement of the nation as the central object of popular worship. It is more than a coincidence; it is a clue to the essential nature of modern nationalism. For, whatever may be the surviving potency of Christianity or Judaism in individual lives, there is little doubt that for large groups of people nationalism is now the chief embodiment of the "religious sense." As such it has a tremendous appeal to all that is spiritual and idealistic in man.

Nationalism, viewed as a religion, has much in common with other great religious systems, especially with historic Christianity.



In fact the current notion of the National State is so similar to the medieval notion of the Christian Church that the close study of the doctrines and practices of contemporary nationalism is recommended to the modern man who would comprehend the seemingly incomprehensible Middle Ages.

To the modern National State, as to the Medieval Church, is attributable an *ideal*, a *mission*. It is the mission of salvation and the ideal of immortality. The nation is conceived of as eternal, and the deaths of her loyal sons do but add to her undying fame and glory. She protects her children and saves them from foreign devils; she assures them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; she fosters for them the arts and the sciences and she gives them nourishment. Nor may the rôle of the modern National State, any more than that of the medieval Church, be thought of as economic or mercenary; it is primarily spiritual, even other-worldly, and its driving force is its collective *faith*, a faith in its mission and destiny, a faith in things unseen, a faith that would move mountains. Nationalism is sentimental, emotional, and inspirational.

There are very definite and illuminating parallels between contemporary nationalism and medieval Christianity. Nowadays the individual is born into the National State as formerly he was born into the Church, and the secular registration of birth is the national rite of baptism. With tender solicitude the State follows the individual through life, teaching him in patriotic schools the national catechism and commemorating his vital crises by formal registration not only of his birth but likewise of his marriage, of the birth of his children, and of his death. And the death of national potentates and heroes is celebrated by patriotic pomp and circumstance that make the obsequies of medieval bishops seem drab.

Membership in the modern National State is compulsory. The individual may withdraw only by death or emigration, and in the latter case he finds it difficult to discover any land which does not possess some established form of the religion of nationalism. He may change his church, so to speak, but not his god. The fabled "man without a country" has become an up-to-date version of the "Flying Dutchman". And the individual, however skeptical he may be about his national faith, knows that compulsory membership in any National State involves compulsory financial

support of its maintenance and propaganda, for such a State is as insistent upon the collection of taxes as ever was the medieval Church upon the levying of tithes.

Interior devotion to nationalism is expected of all persons, though here some allowance must be made for human frailty. So long as public rites and ceremonies are decently observed, we must not search too closely the heart of the worshipper. It has long been recognized that he who prays the loudest and beats his breast with greatest ostentation may be most lacking in true interior devotion. The ways of skeptics and doubters have been notoriously subtle, and it may be questioned whether Pharisees and whited sepulchres do not exist among the hordes of sincerely devout nationalists.

There can be no question, however, of the popular and compelling character of external nationalistic worship. Blasphemy and sacrilege have always been heinous crimes, and the modern man who allows a fitting mental doubt to find expression in jest or sneer at the expense of the national cult is eligible for madhouse or penitentiary.

The ritual of modern nationalism is simpler than that of certain other great historic religions, probably because sufficient time has not yet elapsed for its elaboration, but, considering its youthfulness, it is already pretty well developed and its use is already more wide spread than that of any other.

Nationalism's chief symbol of faith and central object of worship is the flag, and curious liturgical forms have been devised for "saluting" the flag, for "dipping" the flag, for "lowering" the flag, and for "hoisting" the flag. Men bare their heads when the flag passes by, and in praise of the flag poets write odes and children sing hymns. In all solemn feasts and fasts of nationalism the flag is in evidence, and with it that other sacred thing, the national anthem. The national anthem is the *Te Deum* of the new dispensation; the worshippers stand when it is intoned, the military at "attention" and the male civilians with uncovered heads, all with external signs of veneration and respect.

Nationalism has its parades, processions, and pilgrimages. It has, moreover, its distinctive holy days, and just as the Christian Church adapted certain pagan festivals to its own use, so the National State has naturally borrowed from Christianity. For example, in the United States the Fourth of July is a nationalistic

Christmas, Flag Day is substituted for Corpus Christi, and Decoration Day for the commemoration of All Souls of the faithful departed, while in place of the saints' days of the Christian calendar we find the birthdays of national saints and heroes, as Washington and Lincoln. Nationalism, too, has its temples, and he who would find the places and the buildings that are held most sacred by the vast majority of Americans, should seek not Christian cathedrals but Independence Hall in Philadelphia, Faneuil Hall in Boston, the city of Washington with its Capitol and its great monuments to Lincoln and Washington, and the shrines to General Lee in Lexington and to General Grant in New York.

Moderns are inclined to regard the medieval veneration of images, icons, and relics as savoring of "superstition", but let them replace a statue of St. George by a graven image of General George Washington, an icon of the Virgin by a lithograph of Admiral Dewey, and a relic of the Holy Cross by a tattered battle-flag and they display a veneration which is beautiful and ennobling. If one calls to mind the images of national heroes with which every town is plentifully supplied and the icons of national fathers which adorn both the sumptuous clubs of the rich and the humble cottages of the poor, one can appreciate the basic religious appeal of modern nationalism. In 1915 when the old cracked Liberty Bell was transported from Philadelphia to the San Francisco Exposition, refined and lovely ladies met it at every station on the long way and expressed their "religious sense" by venerating the relic with pious kisses.

Every National State has a "theology", a more or less systematized body of official doctrines which have been deduced from the precepts of the "Fathers" and from the admonitions of the national scriptures and which reflect the "genius of the people" and constitute a guide to national behavior. In America, the canon of national scriptures certainly includes the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Washington's Farewell Address, the Monroe Doctrine, and Lincoln's addresses, but with us, as elsewhere, the canon is not yet definitive. There is even now an intense rivalry between two theological schools, that which supports the authenticity of the gospel according to Theodore Roosevelt and that which attributes inspiration to the epistles of Woodrow Wilson.

From the doctors of national theology proceed more or less learned works which are piously vulgarized by sentimental journalists and emotional orators, and the school-system of the National

State is held to strict accountability for any lapse from the official teaching. Here and there a bold teacher or a tactless textbook writer may suggest an explanation of some episode in our early national history not in full harmony with the popular faith; such a person, as we well know in these latter days, is liable to denunciation by some zealous Patriotic Society and to trial and degradation by an Inquisitorial Board of Education—a kind of modern Dominican Order—and the offensive texts are put on a nationalistic Index. As the “Committee on History Textbooks for the Public Schools of New York City” declared in its report of March 27, 1922: “The textbook must contain no statement in derogation or in disparagement of the achievements of American heroes. It must not question the sincerity of the aims and purposes of the founders of the Republic or of those who have guided its destinies. . . . [In discussing the American Revolution,] everything essential is accomplished when it is made plain to the pupils: that the Colonists had just grievances; that they rebelled because they could obtain no redress; that they were inspired by a fierce love of liberty; that they counted neither the cost nor the odds against them; that the dominating spirit of the Revolution is found in the words of Nathan Hale: ‘I regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.’ ”

Thus are the minds of the young kept pure and uncontaminated from knowledge of the full truth which, it is assumed, might weaken, if not destroy, their national faith. For the preservation of the faith, the common people should be kept in ignorance. The argument is fully as convincing to modern nationalists as to medieval Christians.

Human beings do not willingly give their lives for economic gain. The supreme sacrifice is oftenest paid in behalf of an ideal and in response to the “religious sense”. And perhaps the surest evidence of the religious character of modern nationalism is the zeal with which all manner of its devotees have laid down their lives on battlefields of the last hundred years. At this very moment there are hundreds of thousands of little whitewashed crosses all over northern France, each bearing the simple black inscription “Mort pour la patrie”. Vastly more men perished in the recent four-year War of the Nations than in the protracted Crusades of the Middle Ages.

A faith that inspires the noblest sacrifices is apt to be intolerant in some of its manifestations, and the similarity in this respect between modern nationalism and medieval Christianity is striking.



The medieval Christian was not the supremely intolerant person that prejudiced moderns imagine; he distinguished between various kinds of unbelievers and treated them accordingly; he was harsher to heretics than to infidels, pagans, and Jews; he dealt more severely with the ignorant than with the learned. And it is so with the modern nationalist.

Toward pagans and infidels in their own distant homes, that is, toward inhabitants of foreign countries, our attitude varies all the way from amused interest or contempt to dislike and fear and hatred; if we think our vital interests or our "national honor" is threatened, we preach a crusade against them, but otherwise we tolerantly let them survive as curious aberrations of providence. Toward pagans and infidels in our midst, that is, toward unnaturalized immigrants, our attitude differs according as they are few or numerous. If they are few, we pity or despise them, but we do not directly persecute them; rather we hope and work for their conversion to our own faith, for their naturalization in our National State. On the other hand, if they are numerous, we grow fearful and erect social, sometimes legislative, barriers against them.

Heretics are fellow countrymen who have lapsed from the pure faith and gospel, depraved beings who, having had the advantage of belonging to us and knowing our nationalism, have failed to appreciate it and have fallen into error or doubt. There are several varieties of national heretics. The outright traitor, of course, is the worst; he excites in us hatred and horror, and if we catch him we put him to ignominious death. The pervert who takes out naturalization papers in a foreign country, is exceptional and can be merely despised and reproached. But the most perplexing and troublesome kinds are the crypto-heretics, the persons who are so indecorous in their external acts of devotion, so critical of the "Fathers" and "scriptures", or so indifferent to their patriotic obligations that they are suspected of harboring interior devotion to some other nation, or, what is worse, to no nation at all. These unfortunates in times of excitement, as in our modern national crusades, we ferret out and either banish or jail; but in ordinary times, unless they are school-teachers or otherwise influential in forming public opinion, we take little official cognizance of them but leave them rather to be handled beyond the law by ultra-patriotic private organizations, such as "Black Hundreds" or "Ku Klux Klans".

A final indication of the religious character of modern nationalism is the popular ascription of infallibility to the National State. Other countries have erred, but ours has always been right. Individuals may do wrong, but the nation always does right.

The most impressive fact about the present age is the universality of the religious aspects of nationalism. Not only in the United States does the "religious sense" of the whole people find expression in nationalism, but also, in slightly different form but to an even greater degree, in France, England, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Russia, the Scandinavian countries, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, the Balkans, and Greece. Nor does the religion of nationalism thrive only on traditionally Christian soil; it now flourishes in Japan, Turkey, Egypt, India, Korea, and is rearing its altars in China. Nationalism is the latest and nearest approach to a world-religion.

### III.

Nationalism as we know it is modern, but it is not therefore to be condemned. For just as I would maintain that a development is not necessarily good simply because it is recent, so would I not argue that every recent development is evil. The establishment of the modernity of nationalism leaves quite untouched the question as to its value in promoting true human progress.

Nor would I have anyone gather from what I have said that I condemn nationalism because it is an expression of man's "religious sense." I am too convinced a believer in religion and too faithful a follower of historic Christianity to make light of any religious faith; and to condemn nationalism merely because it is a religion would seem to me as absurd as to condemn vegetation because it requires sunlight. When one recognizes the religious character of modern nationalism one has still to ask one's self whether it is the form of religion most conducive to human betterment.

Most great religious systems of the past have been unifying, rather than disintegrating, forces in the history of the human race. Buddhism gave rise to a common type of constructive civilization among the teeming millions of India, China, and Japan. Mohammedanism drew together in a common bond and inspired with common zeal most diverse tribesmen of Arabia, India, Persia, Turkey, the Malay archipelago, and Africa. Christianity bound together in a cultural community all kinds of European peoples,

regardless of their habitat and native language. And especially in the case of medieval Christianity, the forms and ceremonies which attended the expression of man's religious sense were constant symbols of a striving for a kingdom that was not of this world, for the sacrifice of self and the assurance of peace on earth to men of good will.

Modern nationalism, while developing customs and ceremonies which externally are very reminiscent of rites and practices of medieval Christianity, has developed quite a different spirit and set itself quite a different goal. Despite the universality of the general concept of nationalism, its cult is based on a tribal idea and is therefore limited in its practical manifestations to circumscribed areas and to persons of the same language. There is no exact parallel in nationalism to the Christian injunction "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." Nationalism's kingdom is frankly of this world and its attainment involves tribal selfishness and pride, a peculiarly ignorant and tyrannical intolerance, and—war!

Individual liberty and the tolerance which springs from humility are waning in every country that extols nationalism. Within each such country ardent groups of present-day nationalists are striving with extraordinary vehemence to impose not only a single language and a single set of political institutions on all their fellow countrymen but also to compel all their fellow citizens to conform to their own special standards of culture and to adopt their own interpretations of history. Thus, in the United States today, there are groups who insist that "Protestant Nordics" are the only real Americans and who would have all of us fully imbued with culture of what they conceive to be the Plymouth-Rock variety; they denounce as "unpatriotic" and move the unthinking masses against any special group of people in America who are thought to differ from themselves in racial stock or social customs or ceremonial observance or foreign interests.

Such propaganda within each country is a natural outcome of boastful nationalism in general, but it frequently has the curious effect of defeating its own object. Instead of inculcating in all citizens of a given country a common respect for all good and fruitful elements of national life and national aspiration, it exaggerates differences and gives rise to an amazing and alarming growth of special group loyalties, not only among the original propagandists but contrariwise among the dissidents, as for example in the United

States among Catholics, among Jews, and among negroes. Any one who knows ought of the educational system of the United States knows with what pertinacity every religious group and every racial group vies with others for official recognition of its distinctive status as "American." If nationalism proceeds unchecked and intolerant, it is likely to produce ugly domestic strife.

Nationalism, in its narrow and selfish form, has already produced great international wars, and is almost certain to produce many more. Given the economic rivalries between capitalists and business-men of different nations, and a general situation exists favorable to war. Given the great competitive armaments on land and sea, and the means are at hand for prosecuting war. But the guns would not go off and interested financiers could not precipitate war if the people of the several countries were not thoroughly imbued with the sentiment and emotion of nationalism, with the conviction that they are the champions of a lofty and transcendent idealism. The masses must bear the brunt of modern fighting, and it is extremely doubtful whether the masses in any country, if they were appealed to only on economic grounds, could be persuaded to fight the masses of another country. Ordinary citizens do not lay down their lives for direct financial gain; they make the supreme sacrifice only for an ideal. Nationalism, in its most recent form, holds up such an ideal.

Nationalism has set before the ordinary citizen of every so-called civilized country on Earth the ideal of fighting to secure any territory to which their nation ever had any sort of claim, or on which their national flag has ever been hoisted, or in which their fellow nationals have suffered in person or purse, an ideal which looks forward to the ultimate extension of the nation's "mission" at the expense of the "mission" of all other nations. Nationalism, unless it be rendered critical instead of ignorant, humble instead of proud, does not promise, despite its modernity, to promote real human progress. It promises not to unify, but to disintegrate, the world; not to preserve and create, but to destroy, civilization.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES



## THE SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN OUR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

It is reasonable that the majority of intelligent Americans should be less informed about international relations than similar people of other countries. When our Republic was founded in 1789 we were a new people, separated from other civilized peoples by a great ocean which required nearly a month to cross. This not only isolated Americans to a considerable extent but in addition they had before them the great problem of subduing a virgin continent, developing its material resources and building a nation. Millions of immigrants came to the new country but they came to improve their condition economically and devoted themselves almost exclusively to that end. One might assume that their advent would have caused an interest in the lands from which they came. Instead it merely added another element to the domestic problem of trying to mold a nation. It is true that the first generation of Americans were deeply interested in foreign affairs, due to the injuries they sustained in the Napoleonic wars. But with the long peace that followed 1815, it is fair to say that though Americans were never wholly isolated and always participated in international relations when their interests demanded it, they did as a people turn their faces to the west, and in developing their great national resources, in trying to solve the problem of slavery and States Rights, and in absorbing the millions of immigrants, they had little time and energy and not much inclination to concern themselves to any great extent with the affairs of other peoples. One of the human activities that may help most towards an understanding of other peoples is the study of foreign languages, for it is hard to make a study of the language of a people without becoming somewhat familiar with its real culture and civilization and its special problems and difficulties. To know foreign languages is almost a necessity to the intelligent European. An American starting from the center of the United States can travel 500 miles in any direction and meet no people who do not speak English. A European, traveling 500 miles from almost any place in Europe will cross territories inhabited by anywhere from two to half a

dozen nations speaking different languages. Geography and history have combined up to the present to concentrate our attention upon domestic affairs and make of us—and I refer now to intelligent Americans—a comparatively provincial people.

However complacent Americans may have been in their provincialism before 1914, the Great War gave them a rude shock. They learned that a distance of 5000 miles from the place where the War originated did not prevent them from being dragged in—ignorant as most of them were of the historical, economic and racial causes of the War and its deep significance. And since the Armistice, the economic chaos that has existed in Europe and the resulting depression in our own country have impressed upon them a fact that many were hitherto either ignorant of or indifferent to viz: that comparatively self-sufficing as we are from the standpoint of natural resources, we are so bound up with the fate of other nations that not even this great country can live unto itself. And not the least lesson learned by teachers of history and political science was the existence of a great danger to an integrated America, viz: that the international jealousies and hatreds between the nations of the old world might become political issues among their descendants in the new world.

Montesquieu has said, "Knowledge humanizes mankind and reason inclines to mildness, but prejudices eradicate every tender disposition". In no field of human activity is this as true as in international relations. In every nation blind attachment to slogans causes men to reject the warnings of reason and resort to force to settle disputes with other nations. But mere denunciation of war brings us nowhere. Only when we face frankly the conditions that make for war will we be able to realize peace. We do that when we undertake a systematic and objective study of international relations. Aspects of international relations are, of course, considered incidentally in courses in history, geography, politics, economics, international law and diplomacy. But the treatment is necessarily cursory and limited. To be of real value a course in international relations must correlate the lessons of these subjects in a way to uncover the significance of the truly fundamental problems in the relations between nations. It does not follow that with the introduction of international relations in our schools and colleges wars will cease. But a knowledge of the facts will help to free men from the prejudices on which war thrives. It will, moreover, inform them that until we organize a machinery

to adjust the complex system of international relations that have gradually developed among nations, we shall continue to have international strife. How this knowledge is to be organized into lessons and transferred to the students on the benches of our schools and colleges can better be described by the eminent teachers who follow me on the program.

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN

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## GEOGRAPHY AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

Professor Hayes' paper on Nationalism last night was interesting, original, and convincing, but it was not particularly reassuring. He showed Nationalism to be a force tending at times to hide facts and therefore to breed ignorance and intolerance. Thus it naturally tends toward war. He said further that the thing we really need for peace rather than war is "a nationalism that is humble rather than proud". The same idea might be stated in another way by saying that we need the willingness to be fair.

Three forces tend to offset the dangerous aspects of nationalism as a disturber of peace. They are: first, the increase in the use of the scientific method; second, the increasing economic unity of the world; third, the influence of increasing international action.

These are facts, and there is after all a tendency for facts to produce ideas.

1. *The Age of Science.* In 1914 the opening of the war shattered my comfortable little Utopean world of peace and progress. Since that explosion, the only largely optimistic thing I have known is James Harvey Robinson's book, "The Mind in the Making". His thesis is epitomized in the following brilliant passage:

"When we compare the discussions in the United States Senate in regard to the League of Nations with the consideration of a broken-down car in a roadside garage the contrast is shocking. The rural mechanic thinks scientifically; his only aim is to avail himself of his knowledge of the nature and workings of the car, with a view to making it run once more. The senator, on the other hand, appears too often to have little idea of the nature and workings of a nation, and he relies on rhetoric and appeals to vague fears and hopes or to mere partisan animosity. The scientists have been busy for a century in revolutionizing the practical relations of

nations. The ocean is no longer a barrier, as it was in Washington's day, but to all intents and purposes a smooth avenue closely connecting, rather than safely separating, the eastern and western continents. The Senator will nevertheless unblushingly appeal to policies of a century back, suitable, mayhap, in their days, but now become a warning rather than a guide. The garage man, on the contrary, takes his mechanism as he finds it, and does not allow any mystic respect for the earlier forms of the gas engine to interfere with the needed adjustments."

Robinson then shows how three centuries ago we settled material things by falling back on the same kind of hunches, prejudices, and untested hereditary notions that prevailed in the Senate when discussing the League of Nations. In the three centuries since Galileo's painful start we have acquired the habit of handling material things in the light of facts though it upsets gravitation, gas engines, and atoms.

We have good reason to hope that in the next three centuries men will come to act in the light of facts in human relations as they now do in material things. Inter-racial and international relations are among the most pressing of these human relationships in which revolution may easily be evolved by action upon facts rather than upon notions. Indeed war will be deader than duelling when we begin to act upon the facts; when we apply the scientific method to human affairs.

2. *Economic Unity.* The world is becoming increasingly interdependent. Disturbances of the international peace are becoming more expensive. They are becoming expensive to third parties and other remote helpers, as is well illustrated by the following series of facts. For many years the people in the central part of China had received most of their cash income from the sale of tea to Russia. After the collapse of Russia in 1917, the Russians were unable to buy tea. As a first result Chinese tea growers were unable to buy cotton yarns from England. The British cotton factories were shut down and the cotton operatives walked the streets of Lancashire, contributing their quota to England's menacing unemployment problem. The financial straits of the unemployed cotton workers reduced the British demand for cotton, meat, and wheat from the United States, and helped to produce a conspicuous price decline in U. S. farm produce. Thus we see that the collapse of Russia helped by indirect poverties to bring about deprivation right through the



middle of North America from the cotton fields of Louisiana to the corn fields of Illinois, and the wheat fields of Minnesota and Saskatchewan. Since the American farmers were short of money they spent less for automobiles from Michigan, tires from Ohio, hardware from New England, and phonographs from Camden.

More and more people are beginning to realize in America that the agricultural depression in this country is due to the chaos in Europe. We see the hardships of this interference with trade working in three stages, one, the low prices and reduced farm values in Central North America; second, unemployment in England; and lastly, starvation in Russia. It is bitter irony that the Congressional representatives of the depressed American farm people still make public utterances and help make the foreign policy which says in effect that Europe can go its way and it is none of our affairs, while the facts are that the price of farm land in Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, and Texas has been dependent for the last fifty years upon the prosperity of Europe and its ability to buy our surplus.

This international interdependence has made but a beginning of its possibilities. World trade is developing a regional division of labor despite tariffs, land grabbing, monopolistic concessions, and the war itself. As a result of economic forces we see the world separating into two kinds of regions, first, the food and raw material regions, and second, the manufacturing regions. This condition is conspicuous even within the United States itself. Our total population is increasing rapidly, yet it is declining over much of the area of our rich country. Each of the last three censuses shows that the rural population is declining in much of the area from central Ohio to central Kansas, and from Arkansas to Canada save in the vicinity of lake and river ports, and towns in the industrial triangle between Chicago, Detroit, and Columbus, Ohio. In the last census, the fertile and little used state Mississippi had so great a rural decline that it was not offset by the slight growth of population in the cities. At the same time cities grew apace in other parts of the United States. The regions around Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Boston, have serious housing shortage from the rapid increase of population due to the rapid growth of manufacturing industries which are centralizing here. The same process can be seen in varying degrees in Europe and in Japan, and even China shows its beginnings.

This division of the world into manufacturing regions and raw material regions is a very natural one. Some parts of the world are more desirable than others as places of human habitation. Let us look for a moment at the world in terms of climatic types. We have near the equator, the wide belt where it rains nearly all the year, where it is continuously hot as well as humid, and as a result dense forests shroud the earth. We find this forest belt in Equatorial Brazil and half a dozen other South American countries adjacent to it. We find it again in Equatorial Africa, and in the East Indian Islands. To the north of it there is a rainy season and a dry season. This produces the grassland type of country so well described by Mr. Roosevelt in his book, *African Game Trails*. Getting further away from the equator we find in Africa beyond the grasslands the deserts of Sahara and Kalahari where the rain is too scanty to start much vegetation.

Each of these types of land is fitted for certain things. The equatorial forests, mostly uninhabited, has sprung into importance of late because a few hundred thousand coolies have gone from India, China and Java to the tropic forests of Ceylon and Malaysia where their labor has made the tangled forest give way to long rows of rubber trees, and the rubber output has increased so phenomenally that the automobile manufacturers find the rubber market glutted despite the almost unbelievable boom in the automobile business.

Rubber must be grown in the Equatorial Forests, but when it comes to manufacturing the rubber into tires we find this industry in Akron, Ohio, a town that has grown like a mining camp, as it tried to house the workers of its rubber factories. This city stands as the manufacturing counterpart of the rubber plantations of Equatorial Malaysia. I cannot imagine the rubber factories arising in Singapore or Para, Brazil, the great rubber markets of two neighboring decades. The melting climate of the rubber plantation tends to reduce man to a shade hunting, chair hunting, cool drink hunting reposeful creature—one who does what he has to and lets the rest go until an ever receding tomorrow.

This separation of the rubber industry into two halves, ten thousand miles apart, is a capital illustration of that rapidly developing regional division of trade that is causing us to locate movable industries and manufactures to the places of easy access where there is mechanical power and where it seems good to live, while those places of unpleasant climate, non-access, or limited resources,

are being specialized to produce only the things that *have* to be produced there. Thus Detroit and New York boom, while Iowa, Kansas, and Mississippi almost stand still. Thus Akron booms and the coolie creates the rubber plantation and the coolie town in the equatorial forest.

This growing interdependence makes war and any other disturbance of trade increasingly detrimental to all mankind. What nation is not the loser if the Malay ceases to be able to send us rubber or ceases to be able to buy? Remember the series of economic losses that followed the collapse of the Russian ability to purchase in China.

3. *International Action.* The League of Nations is and I predict for it a long life, with many disappointments, but increasing influence. The case of Albania is most suggestive. The World War settlement made Albania an independent nation, as it did Jugo-Slavia and its other neighbors. But no sooner had the Jugo-Slavs become independent than they concluded they would settle a sore old score by conquering those wicked Albanians to the south of them. Accordingly they invaded Albania, and to their surprise the League of Nations spoke. It threatened an economic boycott if the Jugo-Slavs did not withdraw their armies from Albania. "No ship can land on Jugo Slavia shores, no train can enter there. You cannot export; you cannot import." Attempts to borrow money collapsed. Jugo-Slavia was helpless. She withdrew her armies from Albania under the inspection of military observers sent by the League of Nations. Any teacher knows that if the Jugo-Slavia and Albanians had presented their case to a jury of twelve boys and girls from the eighth grade of any of our schools that pupil jury would have rendered a decision infinitely more productive of human happiness than if these two neighboring peoples had been allowed to fight to a finish. Indeed the Albanian record is most suggestive. The head of their delegation at the September meeting of the League of Nations, 1922, spoke somewhat as follows: "We thank the League of Nations for making us an independent people and protecting us from invasion. We thank you for the experts you sent down to advise us. We never taxed ourselves before. We were not sure what would become of the money, but your experts persuaded us to pay taxes and we have done so. We have built two normal schools where we never had schools before. We have built two hospitals where we never had any before and we have saved some money. We have no salaries of \$10,000 a year in

our country, but we have a salary as high as that for a good American expert to come and give us some more advice. Have you one to recommend?"

This is not the only example that may already be cited for the League of Nations and others will doubtless follow, and some day the peoples of the world will appreciate what is the real, effective method of the League. It is not armed force; *it is the economic boycott*. Growing interdependence is so great that no nation, now or at any time in the future, can withstand the absence of trade with its neighbors. That alone will at any time bring the haughtiest to terms. That threat, if it were known to be a real threat, would bring the haughtiest nations to terms even now. I expect the work of the League of Nations or some similar international organization to grow slowly for a time, and then suddenly the human race will discover it in a way similar to that by which ideas, long entertained, suddenly become the style. For example, look at the history of the woman suffrage idea in the United States. It seemed as if it would never get anywhere. For decades the women talked and begged. After a couple of generations a few states of more advanced notions adopted it, but after all, was it not a curiosity? It was making almost no progress, when all of a sudden, it rushed to complete national majority. That is the way reforms come—a long period of hard work and discouragement for the short sighted. Then another generation grows up and here is a sudden sweep of public sentiment and the thing becomes the style.

The League of Nations or something like it will continue to do small but good things. Then in some happy year it will be suddenly realized that an unruly big nation can be brought to reason by the economic boycott of all mankind. When a nation is brought to reason it acts in the light of the facts. Acting in the light of facts ends war.

How can Geography aid this increase of international understanding and good will that will enable us to settle our difficulties without the insanity of war? One morning in January, 1919, I woke early with this thought: Woodrow Wilson is in Paris to make a League of Nations. If he succeeds, it will be so weak, so bound by compromise, that it can do little more than exist. For a time it must creep along, growing as human things can grow, only by experience, and gradually. It will triumph, if it triumphs at all, at some crises twenty or fifty years hence. Its triumph will



depend upon the attitude toward it of American voters who are now in school, not yet in school, many of them not yet born. How can I reach them? The answer was, a textbook in Geography offers the best means. Since that morning I have eschewed my old friends the magazine editors who deal only with adults. I have written only for pupils and teachers. The future lies with them.

Geography offers the great teaching opportunity, with history as its chief rival, for the inculcation of international decency, the result of nationalism that is "humble rather than proud", to quote Dr. Hayes again.

### THE SPIRITUAL LEGACIES OF THE GEOGRAPHY CLASS

The Geography class gives this great opportunity because it gives the chance, the only chance, to study all the peoples of the world, and the teacher with the right point of view has the opportunity to leave the children three spiritual legacies, in addition to any facts of geography that may be taught.

*Respect for other peoples.* The first of these three spiritual legacies is respect for other people. There are no people under the sun concerning whom a little study will not reveal the fact that they have abilities unknown to the pupils of the school we happen to be teaching. Even the Australian bushman, most stupid of all mankind, can perform the wonderful feats of the boomerange, and the sharpness of his eye makes him, as a tracker, little short of miraculous in his power. Thus he is employed by the Australian police to track criminals. The Congo negro, climbing his oil palm tree with a rope is a spectacular figure performing a feat we cannot do.

The art works of all nations represent dexterities we do not have. They should be presented not as mere curiosities, not as freaks, but as the display of abilities different from our own, beyond our present powers, and therefore the basis of respect. Certainly the proper class room use of the achievements of other peoples should cause the pupil to look upon them as our superior in some abilities, our equal in many ways, and therefore entitled to the same respect that we expect him to feel toward us.

*Sympathy for other people* is the second spiritual legacy the geography teacher may leave the pupils. The whole human race is a mass of our fellow craftsmen. They are all engaged in the great absorbing task of making a living, and the Filipino or the Japanese, wading around in the mud of his rice paddy, is rendering

himself the same service as that of the American with his plow. The Chinese silk worker or the European weaver is a counterpart of the American cotton worker or automobile operative—fellow craftsmen again.

And again, every people shares with us the most difficult of all human tasks, that of making society, (government) and the great work of educating the children. Certainly these can be the basis of sympathy if properly presented. When the shortcomings of the foreign nation appear they should not be avoided but neither should our own. Any teacher can point to vistas of better government, better roads, better markets, better something that lies ahead of us and is yet to be achieved.

*Understanding* is the third spiritual legacy that the teacher may leave with the children. Said a "100% American" one evening on his return from a lecture about some foreign country, "But those foreigners do such *foolish* things." I do not believe that man studied Geography from a teacher who understood human nature. If he had he would know that the foreigners do not "do such *foolish* things"; they do *natural* things. There is a reason for the customs of foreign peoples. Their customs usually have some relation to their environment. It is intellectually and spiritually wholesome to have the children of the Geography class imagine themselves in the place of some other people American or foreign and then tell what they would do under certain circumstances. This will help both student and teacher to see that Geography is a study of cause and effect. Sometimes the effect is industrial; sometimes it is social; sometimes it is political; sometimes it is artistic. As long as Geography is merely a study of facts it may be anything, chiefly nothing. Facts have no reason to be in the book except that they are the results of causes or the causes of results.

If the Geography of cause and effect can be so taught that the student comes out of the school with some understanding of foreign peoples, and a willingness to understand them more, he is on the way to tolerance, which is the mark of the really educated.

Whatever may be the factual content of Geography or History or Civics, they give the teacher the great spiritual opportunity to create the point of view of respect rather than contempt; of sympathy rather than dislike; of understanding rather than prejudice. People of such spirit will naturally look to the peaceful development of the world by discussion, adjustment and liberty, rather than by force, destruction, and oppression.

*Constructive Viewpoint in the Geography Class.* In the study of the countries of the world many national problems naturally come into the Geography class for at least a passing mention, such as the story of Albania mentioned above; the work of the Danube River Commission which makes the Danube River a highway serving several nations, a real international highway like the sea itself. The access of Czecho-Slovakia to the sea is another interesting story. The League of Nations guarantees this landlocked nation an outlet by the use of the River Elbe with steamer landings on its banks, and the privilege of running trains over German railways to the harbor of Hamburg. As the world goes on many more like problems will come to hand, enabling the geography teacher, as no other teacher in our schools, to build up in the minds of the pupils a body of fact as well as a spiritual point of view which creates foreign policy by international conference, adjustment, and judicial decision rather than isolation, prejudice, arms, war, and destruction.

J. RUSSELL SMITH

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## THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN HIGH SCHOOLS

You will remember that Dr. Robinson in "The Mind in the Making" starts out with the statement: "If some magical transformation could be produced in men's ways of looking at themselves and their fellows, no inconsiderable part of the evils which now afflict society would vanish away or remedy themselves automatically. If the majority of influential persons held the opinions and occupied the point of view that a few rather uninfluential people now do, there would, for instance, be no likelihood of another great war; the whole problem of 'labor and capital' would be transformed and attenuated; national arrogance, race animosity, political corruption, and inefficiency would all be reduced below the danger point." One of the most discouraging things about life is one's inability to make any impression on the opinions of most grown-up people. Who has not after an effort to discuss, let us say, the labor question, or the League of Nations, been glad to change the subject to the weather, which, at least, offers no opportunity for violent difference of opinion? But we teachers of the younger generation, having what some may consider an unfair advantage over our audience,

may hope to *try* at least to bring about the "magical transformation."

I can already feel dissent in the air. Some years ago I was present at a discussion here in New York led by Dr. Beard, in which the consensus of opinion seemed to be that the wise teacher had no opinion, at least, in the classroom! The first time I addressed this association, many years ago, I was rebuked by an eminent historian for presuming to suggest that history might be interpreted by the teacher. So I must hasten to justify myself by saying that I have not an intention of suggesting propaganda of any sort. Nothing but the truth should be taught in any classroom, and the chief aim of any teacher of history should be to teach his pupils to think for themselves. But it is perfectly evident that nowhere except in the history seminar can all the facts of history be presented; a choice must be made. The responsibility of making this choice rests upon the teacher and textbook writer. By the choice of subjects for discussion the minds of the young people may be directed into the paths desired. All this is apropos of teaching international relations.

Fortunately for the purpose of our discussion the importance of our subject no longer needs any proof. In 1918, and even in 1920, interest in international relations seemed confined to a few, but the developments of the post-war period have convinced all but the most hard-headed advocates of "normalcy" of the existence of a world community. To students of history, economics, and social conditions it has long been evident that the intense nationalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was merely a phase of development, recent in its origin, and no more sure of permanency than any other phase of human history. The increasing complexity of modern life, with its interlocking political and social interests, means either international suicide or international co-operation. Even those in high places who are estopped by recent political history from taking the path into the existing League of Nations are willing to admit that much.

If it is the chief duty of the teacher of the social studies to train his pupils for worthy citizenship in the community, what shall we consider to be the community? We have taken up the home, the school, the neighborhood, the city, the state, and the nation. Now it seems that the world as a community claims our attention.

To train for world citizenship the teacher should try to develop (1) appreciation of international interests, (2) appreciation of the



contributions of other nations to our common heritage, (3) love of humanity regardless of race or color, (4) appreciation of the essential unity of human history, (5) pride in national achievements for world benefit rather than mere national aggrandizement at the expense of others.

To accomplish these purposes it is not necessary to introduce new courses into an already crowded curriculum. The essentials are World History (including the History of the United States), Economics, Civics, Sociology, Geography, and Current Events. Our first step is to be sure that these are required of all students. Until this is done it is futile to suggest special courses in international relations which would be unintelligible unless based upon these studies. It is a deplorable fact that many high and preparatory schools have the most fragmentary courses in the social studies. Students are graduated with only Ancient History, or only American History, or only Industrial History. Such schools, far from preparing for world citizenship, are not preparing even for intelligent American citizenship. But even if we could afford the time a special course would seem to me to be undesirable in the secondary school. The aims in view can be much better secured by a new emphasis in the standard courses.

Just as United States History and Civics are fundamental to the teaching of national citizenship, so World History is fundamental to the understanding of world citizenship. It is strange to realize how recent is the movement for the teaching of World History! In a way it is a return to the practice of twenty-five years ago, but with a great difference. General History, useful in its time, was a compendium of information; World History, as now taught, is a study of human progress. In the interval between the two we divided our history into national compartments, thus emphasizing a separation which existed more in imagination than in reality. Mr. Wells attacked that sort of history in 1919 in his well known fashion:

"The History of England has the effect of something going on upon a doormat in a passage outside a room full of events and with several other doors. The door opens, the Norman Kings rush out of the room, conquer the country hastily, say something about some novelty of which we have learned nothing hitherto, the Crusades, and exit to room again.

"From which presently King Richard returns dejected. He has been fighting the Saracens. Who are the Saracens? We never

learn. What becomes of them? We are never told. So it goes on. The broad back of history is turned to England throughout. Its face and hands are hidden and we make what we can of the wriggling of its heels.

"The American story is still more incomprehensible. An innocent continent is suddenly inundated by Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and British, who proceed at once to pick up the threads of various conflicts, initiated elsewhere. Someone called the Pope is seen to be dividing the new continent among the European powers. Colonies are formed. What are colonies? These colonies, in what is apparently a strenuous attempt to simplify history, break off from their unknown countries of origin. A stream of immigration begins from west and east. The American mind establishes a sort of intellectual Monroe Doctrine and declares that America has no past, only a future. From which sublime dream it is presently aroused to find something of unknown origin called European imperialism wrecking the world. What is this imperialism? How did it begin?

"Suppose other subjects were taught in the same fashion that we adopt for history; suppose we taught human physiology by just sitting down to the story of the liver, only alluding distantly at times to the stomach or to the diaphragm or the rest of the body. Would students ever make anything of physiology?"

When he followed this declaration by an excursion into the historical field himself to do what he felt no historian had the courage or the insight to do, he offended and startled the historical brotherhood. However, they soon began to realize that the public were with him and then began to try to beat him at his own game.

World History, sympathetically taught, affords the opportunity to give the young people most of the ideas which I suggested: Appreciation of international interests, of the contributions of other nations to our common heritage, of human progress, of the essential unity of human history and love of humanity. Of course, the teacher must be on the lookout for opportunities to stress these ideas. He must be careful lest he "fails to see the wood because of the trees." I remember one successful lesson of mine, memorable because the class for once did me credit when a visitor was in the room. We were discussing Charlemagne's empire building and his ideal of a universal state, which should bring peace and order to the distracted world. The girls were easily led to go back to Alexander and Caesar for comparison.

I ventured on Napoleon, who was really outside their range at that time, but some knew of him. It being war time, we paid our respects to the Pan-German dream of universal Kultur and then passed on to Woodrow Wilson's ideal of the League of Nations. The discussion of the world state became so interesting that our visitor joined in and we had a thoroughly socialized recitation. I hope that the members of the class remember that lesson as well as I do! Another lesson on internationalism which pleased me (there were no visitors to bear me witness of its success) occurred the other day in a discussion of Lehman's picture of the siege of a city in the fourteenth century. I asked the question, "Why do not our cities have walls like those of the middle ages?" The members of the class were able to show how our national organization for protection had taken the place of the small units of the feudal period. They were much amused at the folly of a method which would have required New York and Philadelphia to build walls and maintain armies against each other. I then raised the question of the possible opinion of people two or three centuries from now as to the folly of *nations* arming against each other. After long discussion the bell rang with one irreconcilable still holding out for the difference in language as an insuperable bar to a community of nations.

Miss Tuell, in her little book, "The Study of Nations," has shown us in admirable fashion how we may teach appreciation of the characteristics and contributions of other nations. Whether we follow her method or not we may accomplish the purpose by taking some leaves out of her book. Ambassador Geddes, in a memorable address in Philadelphia recently, said that he considered the false teaching of history one of the greatest bars to the amity of nations. As a Scot, he said that it was drilled into him as a boy that the English were an ignorant, stupid, blundering, inferior race. But he humorously remarked that he got out of that opinion in spite of his bad start. Every nation has written some page of its history to glorify itself at the expense of another nation. We might give as examples the accounts in the older textbooks of the American Revolution and the War of 1812.

Next to World History in its importance for our purpose is the study of current events. Whether this is taken as a separate course or as a continuing part of all courses in the social studies it cannot fail, if interpreted by a teacher of broad interests, to impress the students with the importance of international questions.

In fact, ever since the outbreak of the World War the current periodicals have been so filled with European news that it is hard to find time for national and local events. I happened to overhear two girls who were working the other day as a committee on our school bulletin board. "Now, what-do-you-think-o'-that," said one, "'most all we got is European news!" "That just shows," replied her companion, "What them foreigners can do!"

Economics may be treated from a purely national point of view. But, again, the teacher who wishes to do so can make almost every topic international in scope. Take, for example, the conservation of natural resources. That used to be merely a question of whether or not we were going to make America's material possessions serve the future generations of her own people. The last few years have shown us that it is perhaps the paramount world issue. Ambassador Geddes, in the speech to which I have just referred, said that in his opinion the questions which would make or mar the peace of the world in the future were connected with lumber, coal, and oil. Those who have attended the recent luncheons of the Foreign Policy Association must be impressed by that fact. The economic issues are the ones which are going to make us have to live in peace or commit national suicide. Communication, transportation, trade, corporations of international scope entangle our affairs so with those of other nations that we can no longer exist separately.

Labor problems occupy a large place in any course in economics. They may be treated from a purely American point of view, but any broad consideration must lead at once to world questions: the international organizations of labor, the attempts of the socialist labor groups to bring about internationalism, immigration, the effect of world markets upon employment, the racial elements in the present labor force and many others.

It would be better for our purpose if United States History could be taught as part of world history, and in some progressive schools that is being done. It is undoubtedly a mistake to do as Mr. Wells charges: establish a sort of intellectual Monroe Doctrine. However, there are so many purely national questions which must be understood in order to train for *American* citizenship that a separate course is defensible. Such a course should, however, follow one in World History and contain constant cross reference to foreign affairs.



The Monroe Doctrine itself is too often considered apart from the world situation which brought it about. The Jacksonian Period is usually treated as a curious group of phenomena peculiar to our country, with no reference to the great democratic revolution proceeding at the same time in Europe. The wave of humanitarianism of the middle of the nineteenth century is frequently not at all connected with the period of reform in England and France. A little care on the part of the teacher will show that our social development was but a part of a general movement. So, also, is it with the treatment of the Industrial Revolution, the financial panics, and a host of other things.

I have already referred to the tendency which we share with all other nations to attempt to twist history so as to make it appear to our advantage and to the disadvantage of some other nation. It is strange that this had seemed to be necessary in order to feed our national pride. Are we not great enough, have we not enough to be proud of without claiming what is not ours? There is no harm in admitting some mistakes and failures. Our national pride should be based upon our real achievements, our contributions to the stream of world progress. What matters if the War of 1812 was not as glorious a success as we used to think it was? Did we not give to the world the cotton gin, the reaper and the farm tractor? Did we not return the Chinese indemnity that it might be used for the education of young China? Has our charity not fed the starving of the whole world? Would that we had more world services to recount, but let us make the most of those we have, rather than of the aggrandizement which we have secured at the expense of Mexico and Spain!

In training world citizens we must train them not only to be "historically minded," but internationally minded. It is curious how fearful people are of the word "international"! I suppose that is because of its adoption by the socialists. There seems to be a feeling that one cannot be internationally minded without being in some way disloyal to one's country. It is as though it were to be said that if a man loved his city he must therefore have no regard for his home. While, on the contrary, the more he loved and worked for his city the better his home would be cared for.

In the teaching of civics, as in American History, our first interest is, of course, to make good American citizens. Most of the time must be occupied in the accomplishment of that purpose. It is perfectly possible, however, to have international interests in

mind even there. Curiously enough, that was first impressed upon my mind by a small seventh-grade boy in a summer school class. We were developing together the various communities to which we all belonged: the home, the school, the city, the state, the nation. When we seemed to stop there he insisted that the world was also our community and we all agreed with him. The discussion of health leads to the question of foreign relations through quarantine against world epidemics, the inspection of immigrants, the difference in standards of living amongst immigrant groups. The study of municipal government is much enriched by comparisons with methods of sanitation, housing, transportation, and the like in European cities. The study of the work of Congress would not be complete without a discussion of the treaty-making power of the Senate and its predominant influence on our foreign relations. It would probably be unseemly for the teacher to point out the great need of training in world citizenship of candidates for the Senate!

Above all things, we must teach the meaning of *progress*, both for national and for world citizenship. An appreciation of the growth of ideas is the best preparation for an acceptance of growth and change in contemporary society. If we could only train up a generation who were expectant of change and who welcomed it when it is for the betterment of mankind, it would not matter what particular ideas we tried to inculcate! In their day, which will not be ours, world problems may have developed in a way entirely unforeseen by us. The important thing is that they should have open and sympathetic minds and should have acquired the habit of thinking internationally.

JESSIE C. EVANS

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## DISCUSSION OF THE PAPERS ON THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN HISTORY, CIVICS AND GEOGRAPHY\*

*Mr. Chairman and Members of this Association:*

It is planned that our meeting now resolve itself into an open forum. We are privileged to participate in free and informal discussion of the topics so splendidly presented by the speakers this morning. All are invited to contribute and exchange practical ideas and experiences gleaned from individual fields of specialization.

In preparation for a few opening words as discussion leader I have been reading professional views, both pro and con, regarding the need for more emphasis in our High School Social Science curricula upon International, Modern European, and Recent American History. I do not know who wrote these four lines but they certainly express the opinions I have found on the subject:—

“The man who once most wisely said,  
Be sure you’re right, then go ahead,  
Might well have added this, to wit,  
Be sure you’re wrong before you quit.”

Thus, If I may borrow a word from Horace and translate it freely,—“*poscimus*,” or, “we are put to it” to defend and uphold our thoughts, convictions, practises and classroom findings concerning the problem of the need of more stress in the High School course upon international relations in our civics, economics and history classes. It was Milton who called opinion “knowledge in the making.”

Personally I feel indebted to Dr. Smith for his excellent presentation of the importance of the interrelation of History and Geography. If you are interested in the Geographical phase of History I recommend to you perusal of the annual catalogue of the University of Paris. A majority of the courses in the Department of History at the Sorbonne are courses in Geography. Oxford and Cambridge, likewise, offer students of History a fundamental consideration of the geography of the world. I am of the opinion

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\*The discussion led by Miss Louise I. Capen of Barringer High School, Newark was participated in by a number of those present.

that we are too prone to ignore and hence sacrifice a needed knowledge of the geographical processes of History. Every human group whether white, black, or yellow entertains precisely the same attitude of superiority toward all others, therefore if we would vindicate this attitude in ourselves we must for the sake of all endeavor to determine *not the reason for our own superiority* but how it is that man everywhere has come to be as he is. "The history I used to study as a boy in school", writes Dr. Smith, "was prejudiced, Chauvinistic and hate breeding. I used to sit back in the corner and gloat over the death of every British soldier who fell in the Revolution, and to plan bloody tortures for the rest of them. Of course it is a very natural step from that to hating all Englishmen." The facts are as he points out that "*people are people.*" The universal dependence of man upon his physical surroundings is unquestionably a logical premise to the uniform dependence of History upon man. Each nation has its opinions and its ways. Most customs, national hobbies and aspirations are plain examples of cause and effect. All mankind is engaged with a universal struggle with environment, trying to make a living from it and to build homes and society in it. Our task as teachers of History is to try to understand the world of people. Study and teach Geography urges Dr. Smith, for Geography is the "mother of tolerance."

It is the belief of Miss Evans that training for world citizenship can be obtained not necessarily by the addition of new courses in the High School but by means of a new emphasis in the old ones. Miss Evans claims that the teaching of world history in High School holds for achievement the making of international citizens, —but she bases this faith upon the prerequisite of a teacher whose broadminded interests circle the globe and whose guiding force is sound. To Miss Evans the problem of teaching international relations is one of historic interpretation. Granted that there is a need for more teaching of international relations (for there can be no modern instructor in History who does not acknowledge the general trend in that direction), it is our problem to discover how that end can be most practicably and satisfactorily secured in the classroom. World History must be taught in the course of every High School student and it must be taught not in separate national units but as the development and progress of the whole human race.

There is a contention of quite recent origin and development, and one that seems to gain advocates, a belief that the true starting



point of the History lesson is the present day situation. Opponents of this theory regard history as the product of an evolution, the structure of which becomes topheavy unless built upon a foundation of an initial understanding of the facts of the past to guide in appreciation of the facts of the present. Happy is the teacher who can so measure the width of the chasm between educational *desires* and educational *needs* that he may bridge it with skill.

There is little wonder with the recently revolutionized state of mind in the world's arena of History, that we are confronted with the problem of training students for international as well as national and local citizenship. Our new goal must be world *service* and we must make this new ideal a reality to our students. We must build a complete story of international humanity. Our boys and girls must be given an understanding and appreciation of the mutuality of interests in the world at large. What we need is an organized workable program of international history for practical classroom presentation, a schedule that matters not so much in amount covered as in benefit derived.

There is one suggestion I venture to offer. Our new vision is to teach History thoroughly as well as internationally and at the same time to make it a subject beloved by all. It seems to me folly to try to plunge High School boys and girls into deep sea international generalizations. We must begin in a simple way. The story of History cannot be told with fullest value unless there are connections of all parts one with another. The project method presented in the form of the socialized recitation appeals to me as a most desirable classroom device in the correlation of International history. (Illustration: a project given at Horace Mann on The History of Ireland, and a project lesson on the English Government.)

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## BETHLEHEM MEETING

*December 1, 1923*

CHAPEL, COMENIUS HALL, MORAVIAN COLLEGE

*Saturday Morning, December 1, at eight o'clock.* CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

*Saturday Morning at ten o'clock.* MORNING SESSION.

### ADDRESSES:

*Williams Institute of Politics from an Educational Point of View*,  
BARON S. A. KORFF, Columbia University.

*Corfu and the League of Nations*, DEAN JOHN H. LATANÉ, Johns Hopkins University.

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## WILLIAMS INSTITUTE OF POLITICS FROM AN EDUCATIONAL POINT OF VIEW

Williams Institute of Politics began in 1921 as an experiment; now, in 1923, it has become a well established institution, not only with definite objects and purposes, and also with well devised methods and ways of working, but, last, and I think most important in estimating its success, are its growing achievements.

That it has been truly successful, you can judge from the fact that its example is being followed both in America and abroad. For instance, there is the National Conference on the Science of Politics, established in September at Madison, Wisconsin, for the purpose of spreading knowledge and exchanging views of various scientists, on such subjects as the Psychology of Political Science, on the problems and methods of public finance, legislation, public law, and so forth. Here could be found, gathered together a number of such distinguished scholars as Professors Hall, Merriam, Holcombe, Gruenberg, Corwin, Dodd, West and others. The work is conducted on the plan of a super-seminar with mostly professors carrying on their discussions and research at a Round Table. I hear that in addition, other such institutes are to be established in the West.

In Europe also, several have already been begun. The Institute of Public Administration in Great Britain is conducted along the same lines. Lord Haldane is the chairman, ably assisted by Corner, Beveridge and Laski. The work of their Institute has been facilitated by its organization into groups which local professors can readily attend, thus spreading their influence more widely.

There is also the Academy of International Law at the Hague—a graduate school where not only is law presented, but also many courses in history, and the work is carried on by lecturers and in seminars. Here gathered together, in faculty and student body, were as many as thirty-one nationalities—a most inspiring atmosphere in which to study international law and history. There was however, a certain resulting difficulty when it came to conducting discussions in seminars. For obvious reasons, delicate matters of nationality were touched on but lightly, and there was necessarily great difficulty in getting free expression of opinion on all matters dealing with national politics, or referring to events of the recent past.

At Vienna, in September, 1923, was begun an International Summer School, where British and Austrian professors conducted courses both in political science and history.

All of this comes as the direct result of the success of the work at Williams, begun in 1921. Why has this idea proved so popular? The explanation is a very simple one; it has all come as a result of a universal hunger for more knowledge existing everywhere. Today, the world over, all of us—old and young, are eager to know more. We want to know how the terrible disaster of 1914 came about. We want to know by what means a repetition of so fearful a catastrophe may be avoided. We believe that human intelligence should be able to rationalize social processes, which are not, like a storm in nature, utterly uncontrollable. Therefore, people are asking: What forces were at work that brought about this disaster? They long for more knowledge of the past that the remedy may be found for social disturbances. They seek to analyze the present in order to influence the future.

At the Williams Institute of Politics the work was carried along three distinct lines;—by public lectures, in seminars and through personal contact in numerous social events.

The lectures were given by distinguished foreigners for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the people of this country to get the point of view of other nations. These, it must be said, were

good only if the speaker had sufficient command of the English language to make himself well understood. When this was not the case, it must be admitted, the lectures were failures through the speaker's inability to present his case forcibly. In each Institute the rule has been made that all public addresses be given in the language of the country. The Hague is an exception, for there, not only are gathered together many people of different tongues, but the Dutch language is too little known, therefore, by general consent, French was chosen as the only language of instruction.

The Williams Institute, in its effort to give impartially to experts of various nations an opportunity to speak, has subjected itself to an unjust accusation. It has been said, in some quarters, that German propaganda has been disseminated through public lectures. Of this, however, there is really no danger, for the students here were so mature and so enlightened that it would not have been possible to impose on them in this manner. On the contrary, with an audience of this character, it is highly desirable that they get, for the sake of comparison, these different points of view of Germany, France or England.

As necessarily the audiences were relatively small, the wide publicity, which was the object of the lectures, must depend upon the service of the press. There has been at Williams fortunately, so excellent a provision made for disseminating news that throughout this great country, in papers large and small, even in remote middlewestern sections, there constantly appeared long, well reported articles telling about the proceedings of the Institute. Thus was the universal hunger for knowledge satisfied. But the object was after all, not only the increase of actual knowledge but also the spread of interest in foreign affairs by keeping such matters before the eyes of the people, day by day, and by stimulating discussion of them, so that the question of the participation of the United States in the affairs of Europe should not be forgotten. It is indeed impossible to estimate the actual extent of the influence thus exerted, whether for good or evil;—personally I think for good.

Very different was the second method of the Institute which ran parallel to the first one. This was the method of Round Table discussions, conducted by American experts. Here the work was highly specialized, and, for the most part, the public was excluded. The idea was to bring together a number of scientists in a certain



field to work out, in intensive fashion, difficult problems of international importance. For instance, in one such seminar questions concerning the Pacific Ocean have been discussed in all possible detail. The influence of these discussions has been very great, and in some instances has affected even the government in particular the army and the navy. Facts have been freely supplied when the need has been great. The experts and the students who have participated in these discussions have carried away from the seminars accurate and full information, and in many cases have returned to their colleges to continue their investigations still further after the session ended.

One may raise the questions: Is this work practical? Is it worth while? Did not specialists do as much in the past before these new methods were in vogue? I think not. There is a great advantage in the very fact of specialists staying together for this length of time. Though small in number, these men are high in the quality of their work.

This summer two of the Round Table conferences were conducted on a slightly different plan, as they were opened to the public. They were conducted by Culbertson, specialist on the tariff and by Kerr, one-time secretary to Lloyd George. But though these conferences were most popular and largely attended, there are grave doubts as to the results attained. With a large audience, it becomes difficult to discuss a subject scientifically. Also, in an effort to permit discussion by a larger number, it deteriorated into a series of short lectures, too short to give a scientist any satisfaction and too long to allow the public any real chance for actual participation. Undoubtedly the work of round tables is much better when the group is small; although it might be possible to admit the public to these discussions, such a practice would be objected to by experts, who often feel that questions are an interruption to their work.

The third method was that of social intercourse, which was not only the least attractive, but the least important. Teas and receptions are pleasant but can be overdone and much time is wasted by constant attendance. There were many complaints because of such interruption of work. In addition to the social functions, there was the beauty of the scenery and the surroundings of Williams College which tempted one to lose time. However, such things can easily be adjusted.

The Institute will undoubtedly continue to function every year. Money is available for this. For my part, I should like to see more emphasis placed on historical matters. At the present, there seems to be too much stress on modern events. Unquestionably, the present is dependent upon the past and more light may be gained on current problems through the study of conditions in the past.

S. A. KORFF

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## THE CORFU INCIDENT AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The chief objection made by the Irreconcilables to the Covenant of the League of Nations was that it set up a super-state. The chief criticism in the American press of the League's handling of the Corfu incident was that it did not act as a super-state. The public apparently expected the League to deliver an ultimatum to Italy to retire from Corfu under threat of an economic blockade, followed, if necessary, by naval or military action. The League is not a super-state, and it had no right to deliver an ultimatum to Italy. Article XVI of the Covenant, which reads in part: "Should any Member of the League *resort to war* in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, etc.," was not invoked by Greece because technically Italy had not resorted to war. Italy expressly denied that she had resorted to war, and strange as it may appear to the lay mind, neither Greece nor the Council of the League claimed that she had. All writers on International Law draw a sharp distinction between measures of coercion and war. Thus Oppenheim in a chapter on "Compulsive Settlement of State Differences," says:

"An act of reprisal may be performed against anything and everything that belongs or is due to the delinquent State or its citizens. Ships sailing under its flag may be seized, treaties concluded with it may be suspended, a part of its territory may be militarily occupied, goods belonging to it or to its citizens may be seized, and the like. Thus in 1895 Great Britain ordered a fleet to land forces at Corinto and to occupy the customhouse and other Government buildings as an act of reprisal against Nicaragua;

again, in 1901 France ordered a fleet to seize the island of Mitylene as an act of reprisal against Turkey; and in 1908 Holland ordered a squadron to seize two public Venezuelan vessels as an act of reprisal against Venezuela."

M. Salandra, Italy's representative on the Council of the League, cited in support of the seizure of Corfu the occupation of Vera Cruz by American marines in April, 1914, following, the arrest of American sailors at Tampico. It will be recalled that on this occasion sharp fighting took place, in the course of which 19 Americans were killed and 70 wounded, while the casualties among Huerta's troops are said to have amounted to several hundred. President Wilson's action was approved by a resolution of Congress, which declared that "the United States disclaims any hostility to the Mexican people or any purpose to make war upon Mexico." Italy claimed that her action was in full accord with these precedents, that the occupation of Corfu was temporary, and that she had no intention of making war against Greece. Her technical defense was perfect, and as neither Greece nor any Member of the League contended that there had been a resort to war within the meaning of Article 16, we may dismiss this phase of the question from further consideration.

Greece's appeal to the Council was expressly made under Articles 12 and 15. These Articles are in part as follows:

*Article 12:* "The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report of the Council."

*Article 15:* "If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, [which describes disputes suitable for arbitration] the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof."

Under these articles the parties were bound to submit the dispute to arbitration by any tribunal they might agree upon, or on failure to agree on arbitration, to the Council of the League.

It is important at this point to bear a few dates in mind. General Tellini and his associates were assassinated under most atrocious circumstances on August 27. On the 29th the Italian Government sent an ultimatum to Greece demanding: (1) an official apology, (2) a solemn funeral service in the Catholic Cathedral at Athens, (3) a salute to the Italian flag, (4) an inquiry at the scene of the massacre with the assistance of the Italian Military Attaché, (5) the inquiry to be completed within 5 days, (6) capital punishment of the assassins and an indemnity of fifty million lire to be paid within five days, (7) military honors to the bodies of the victims. Greece was given 24 hours in which to reply to these demands.

The Greek Government replied on the 30th, agreeing to comply fully with demands one, two, three and seven. It denied emphatically, however, that it was guilty of an offense against Italy, and declared it had already instituted the most active possible search for the murderers.

It should be borne in mind that the commission which was engaged in fixing the boundary between Greece and Albania had been appointed by the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, and that while only the Italian members of that commission had been killed, the Conference of Ambassadors were nevertheless directly involved in the dispute. The Ambassadors, therefore, on August 30 addressed a note to the Greek Government requesting it to hold an immediate inquiry, and reserving the consideration of the question of indemnity. On the same day Mussolini ordered the seizure of the Island of Corfu, which order was carried out the next day after a bombardment which met no resistance and in which a number of refugees in the fortress were killed.

I wish to call your attention in particular to the events of August 30: the Ambassadors' Note to Greece, the Greek answer to the Italian ultimatum, the Italian order to seize Corfu, and a press statement from Mussolini declaring that he would not recognize the right of the League to act in the matter. The next day, August 31, Corfu was occupied, and the day following that, September 1, the Council of the League convened in regular session at Geneva, and the Greek Note laying the dispute before the League was read and discussed. The Italian representative,



M. Salandra, asked for a postponement on the ground that he had not received instructions from his government, and also called attention to the fact that, as the Conference of Ambassadors were involved in the dispute, it would be better to leave the dispute to them. He did not, at this time, deny the competence of the League. The Council adjourned to allow the Italian representative time to receive his instructions, after, however, passing a resolution to the effect that they hoped nothing further would be done on either side to aggravate the situation.

During the discussion Lord Robert Cecil took the position that as this dispute was one that was likely to lead to a rupture, and as Greece had appealed to the Council under Article 15, it was clearly the duty of the Council to take cognizance of the matter. In this position he was strongly supported by M. Branting, of Sweden, and as to the correctness of this position no question was raised by any member of the Council, with the exception of the Italian representative. There was a strong feeling that the League must act, and it was evident that the members of the Council did not regard the bombardment of Corfu as, under the circumstances, a defensible act.

I have recited the above facts at some length because the impression seems to prevail in this country that Mussolini's challenge of the competence of the League was in answer to something the League had done. And the impression also seems to prevail that the Conference of Ambassadors interrupted the consideration of the dispute by the Council and took it out of its hands. Quite the reverse was the case. The Conference of Ambassadors was directly involved in the dispute, the sanctity of an international commission appointed by it having been violated; it had taken the question under consideration and addressed a note to Greece two days before the meeting of the Council of the League.

On September 2 a new and important factor entered into the situation. A copy of the Greek reply to the Ambassadors' Note of August 30 was received, and in it the Greek Government expressed its willingness to accept any penalties which the Ambassadors might impose upon it. On the same day information was received unofficially to the effect that the Italian Government would protest vehemently against the jurisdiction of the League. In fact, Mussolini was daily issuing press statements to this effect. On September 4, the Council met in public session for the first time. The Italian instructions had not arrived, so that nothing

was done beyond hearing a proposal from the Greek Government to deposit 50,000,000 lire in a Swiss bank to cover whatever damages might be awarded against them. Then came the important meeting of September 5. A communication was received from the Ambassadors' Conference at Paris telling the Council what was going on there. The Italian representative, having received his instructions, made a speech in which he denied the competence of the League, in much more moderate terms, however, than had been used by Mussolini in his newspaper pronouncements. In reply Lord Robert Cecil asked to have read in French and English Articles 10, 12, and 15 of the Covenant. The effect was dramatic. At this same meeting the Italian representative let it be known that his Government was prepared to accept the Conference of Ambassadors as the proper authority not only for dealing with the offence to the Ambassadors, but also for handling the dispute between Italy and Greece. Thus for the first time both parties were in agreement as to a method of procedure. Greece would doubtless have preferred the Council of the League, but as Italy refused to submit the dispute to the Council and was willing to submit it to the Ambassadors, Greece promptly consented. This method of settlement was in entire accord with provisions of the Covenant, and would have been a wholly satisfactory solution so far as the League was concerned but for Mussolini's vehement and impudent challenge of its right to discuss the case. The Council, notwithstanding the protests of M. Salandra, continued its discussions, kept in constant communication with the Conference of Ambassadors, and suggested a settlement as nearly in accord as possible with public opinion as expressed at Geneva.

On September 6th, the Council considered the question again, especially with reference to what reply should be made to the note of the Ambassadors, and the Spanish representative, Senor Quiñones, submitted the following proposals:

"The Council takes note of the communication made to it yesterday by the Conference of Ambassadors, and, recognising the principle of international law according to which States are responsible for the political crimes and outrages committed within their territory, declares its intention of investigating in conjunction with the Conference, the manner in which the enquiry should be carried out.

"It would be glad to receive information as to the deliberations of the Conference of Ambassadors on Friday next.

"The Council further desires to submit to the Conference for consideration the following suggestions as to the possible means of giving

satisfaction to the demands of the Conference for reparations from Greece in consequence of the attack made at Janina on Greek territory against the President and Italian members of its Commission.

"(1) The presentation of apologies by the highest Greek authorities to the Ministers of the three Powers represented on the Delimitation Commission;

"(2) The celebration of a funeral service at Athens in honour of the victims, in the presence of all the members of the Greek Government;

"(3) The giving of a salute by the Greek fleet in accordance with conditions to be determined later;

"(4) The rendering of military honours when the bodies of the victims are embarked at Prevesa;

"(5) The appointment by the Greek Government of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate on the spot the circumstances preceding and accompanying the crime; the supplementing of this Commission by representatives of the three Powers concerned, as mentioned in the telegram in question;

"(6) The appointment of representatives of the League of Nations to supervise in Greece the judicial enquiry already ordered by the Greek authorities and the trial of the guilty parties;

"(7) The immediate deposit by Greece in a Swiss bank of a sum of 50 million lire as security for the immediate payment of any indemnity which may be fixed;

"(8) The submission to the Permanent Court of International Justice, for decision under the rules of summary procedure, of the question of the indemnity to be paid by Greece."

The Italian representative was not willing to have these proposals forwarded as the action of the Council, and under the Covenant no action can be taken by the Council without unanimity. In view of this situation, Lord Robert Cecil hit upon a very happy solution. He proposed that a complete transcript of the minutes of this meeting of the Council, including, of course, the objections of the Italian representative, be forwarded to the Conference of Ambassadors. This was agreed to.

On the following day, September 7th, the Conference of Ambassadors drafted a series of resolutions to be forwarded to Greece, which were almost identical with the Quiñones proposals, the main difference being that the judicial inquiry referred to in the sixth resolution was not to be conducted by the League of Nations, but by a special commission appointed by the Conference of Ambassadors. Both Italy and Greece accepted the proposals of the Conference in their entirety:—

"(1) Apologies shall be presented by the highest Greek military authority to the diplomatic representatives at Athens of the three

Allied Powers, whose delegates are members of the Delimitation Commission;

“(2) A funeral service in honour of the victims shall be celebrated in the Catholic cathedral at Athens in the presence of all members of the Greek Government;

“(3) Vessels belonging to the fleets of the three Allied Powers, the Italian naval division leading, will arrive in the roadstead of Phalerum after 8 o'clock in the morning on the day of the funeral service;

“After the vessels of the three Powers have anchored in the roadstead of Phalerum the Greek fleet will salute the Italian, British and French flags with a salute of 21 guns for each flag;

“The salute will be returned gun by gun by the Allied vessels immediately after the funeral service, during which the flags of the Greek fleet and of the vessels of the three Allied Powers will be flown at half-mast;

“(4) Military honours will be rendered by a Greek unit carrying its colours, when the bodies of the victims are embarked at Prevesa;

“(5) The Greek Government will give an undertaking to ensure the discovery and exemplary punishment of the guilty parties at the earliest possible moment;

“(6) A special Commission consisting of delegates of France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan and presided over by the Japanese delegate, will supervise the preliminary investigation and enquiry undertaken by the Greek Government; this work must be carried out not later than September 27th, 1923.

“The Commission appointed by the Conference of Ambassadors will have full powers to take part in the execution of these measures and to require the Greek authorities to take all requisite steps for the preliminary investigation, examination of the accused, and enquiry. It will submit its report and conclusions to the Conference of Ambassadors.

“The Greek Government will guarantee the safety of the Commission in Greek territory. It will afford it all facilities in carrying out its work and will defray all the expenditure thereby incurred.

“The Conference of Ambassadors is forthwith inviting the Albanian Government to take all necessary measures to ensure that the Commission, duly accredited for this purpose, will be able, should it consider such action necessary, to proceed to Albanian territory, and in agreement with the Albanian authorities, there conduct any investigations as are likely to assist in the discovery and punishment of the guilty persons.

“(7) The Greek Government will undertake to pay to the Italian Government in respect of the murder of its delegates, an indemnity, of which the total amount will be determined by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, acting by summary procedure. The Court will give judgment on consideration of the report of the Commission specified in paragraph 6. This report will be transmitted by the Conference of Ambassadors, with its comments, to the Court of Justice.



"The Greek Government will deposit forthwith, as security, at the Swiss National Bank, a sum of 50,000,000 Italian lire, such deposit to be accompanied by the following instructions: "to be paid over, in whole or in part, to the Italian Government, upon the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague."

"The Conference, having taken note of the fact that the Italian Government confirms that the occupation of Corfu and the adjacent islands has no other purpose than that of obtaining fulfillment of the demands which the Italian Government has submitted to the Greek Government, and that these demands are covered by the above conditions laid down by the Conference, invites the Greek Government forthwith to inform, severally and simultaneously, all the diplomatic representatives of the three aforesaid Powers at Athens that it accepts these conditions in their entirety."

The proposals set forth above did not make definite provision for the evacuation of Corfu. As this was a matter of vital importance, pressure was brought to bear on the Italians both at Paris and at Geneva to agree on a definite day for the withdrawal. As the 27th of September was the day set for the completion of the work of the investigating commission, that day was finally set for the evacuation of Corfu. This agreement was reached in the Conference of Ambassadors September 13th, and the following note was immediately sent to the Greek and Italian Governments:

"The Conference, having taken note of the acceptance by the Greek Government of the conditions set forth in the Note addressed to it on September 8th, (adopted on the 7th) and having also noted the request submitted by the Greek Government with reference to the evacuation of the island of Corfu, and having further taken note of the letter from the Greek Minister in Paris, dated September 11th, which is principally concerned with the payment of 50 million Italian lire into the Swiss National Bank under the conditions laid down, has the honour to inform the Greek Government that the Allied Governments are no less anxious than the Greek Government to bring to an early conclusion the abnormal situation created by the crime committed on August 27th, and that the evacuation of Corfu will take place as soon as the conditions laid down in the Note of September 8th have been fulfilled in the following manner:

"(1) The Allied Diplomatic Representatives at Athens will fix, in consultation with the Greek Government, the date on which they are to receive the expressions of regret for which provision is made in the Conference's Note, and which will be offered not later than September 18th;

"(2) The funeral service in honour of the victims will be held at Athens on September 19th, at 10:30 A. M.;

"(3) The warships of the three Allied Powers will arrive in the harbour of Phalerum on the same day, and the details regarding the fulfillment of the third condition will be communicated to the Greek Minister in Paris;

"(4) Honours will be paid to the bodies of the victims on September 19th, on which day they will be placed on board ship at Prevesa;

"(5) The Inter-Allied Commission of Control will enter upon its work at Janina on September 17th, not later than five days after its arrival, and will submit a telegraphic report on its initial conclusions. Should the authors of the crime not yet have been traced, the Commission will state under what conditions its investigations have been carried out, and the Conference, having seen the report, will decide whether the fifth condition contained in its Note of September 8th can be regarded as having been fulfilled. Should this condition not have been fulfilled, in view of the Italian Government's statement that it would, in any event, evacuate Corfu on September 27th, the date fixed by the Conference of Ambassadors for the conclusion of the Greek inquiry, the Conference reserves the right to notify Greece of any other measure of a coercive or punitive nature which may be taken against her by the Allied Powers. Such measures may consist, in particular, in the payment to Italy of a sum of 50 million Italian lire, and in that case the Conference will request the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague to restore to Greece the security deposited by her, and no further application will be made to The Hague, as stated in paragraph 7 of the Note of September 8th, unless any special application is made to the Court by Italy for charges entailed by the occupation."

The Greek and Italian governments both assented to these conditions.

On September 25th the report of the special commission of investigation was considered by the Conference of Ambassadors, and the following day it was decided that the Greek Government had been negligent in pursuing the authors of the crime, and that, therefore, the entire 50,000,000 lire should be awarded to Italy. The Italians were paid this amount on September 27, and on the same day they evacuated Corfu. The settlement was regarded by some as unjust to Greece and unduly onerous. But of course Greece was anxious to get Italy out of Corfu, and that is probably why she accepted the conditions imposed upon her by the Conference of Ambassadors in the note of September 13th. So far as the League was concerned, its main objects had been achieved when the two parties to the dispute accepted the award of the ambassadors.

There remained, however, the question of the competence of the League, which had been challenged by Italy, and the question of

the right of a member of the League to seize territory without first following the procedure laid down in Articles 12-15 of the Covenant. There was also the question that had been raised as to the responsibility of a State for political crimes committed on its territory. The Council, therefore, framed a set of questions which it was proposed to submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion. These questions were as follows:

“(1) Is the Council, when advised at the instance of a Member of the League of Nations of a dispute submitted in accordance with the terms of Article 15 of the Covenant by such Member as likely to lead to a rupture, bound, either at the request of the other party or on its own authority and before inquiring into any point, to decide whether in fact such description is well founded?”

“(2) Is the Council, when seized of a dispute in accordance with Article 15, paragraph 1, of the Covenant at the instance of a Member of the League of Nations, bound, either at the request of a party or on its own authority, to suspend its inquiry into a dispute when, with the consent of the parties, settlement of the dispute is being sought through some other channel?”

“(3) Is an objection founded on Article 15, paragraph 8, of the Covenant the only objection based on the merits of a dispute on which the competence of the Council to make an inquiry can be challenged?”

“(4) Are measures of coercion which are not meant to constitute acts of war consistent with the terms of Articles 12 to 15 of the Covenant when they are taken by one Member of the League against another Member without prior recourse to the procedure laid down in these articles?”

“(5) In what circumstances, and to what extent, is the responsibility of a state involved by the commission of a political crime in its territory?”

M. Salandra contended that these questions were political and not legal, and that they were too vague for submission to the Court. It was finally decided to submit them to a special commission of jurists, and this method of procedure has some advantages, because this commission will probably be freer to make recommendations than the Court would be. On the 28th of September Viscount Ishii, as President of the Council, announced to the Assembly that these questions would be submitted to a special commission of jurists. There followed a full discussion and expression of opinion on the events that had taken place, and there was a general demand for an explicit answer to Italy's challenge. There took place in this meeting of the Assembly a remarkable demonstration in behalf of the authority of the League. Delegates from all parts of the world, one after another, expressed their conviction that

the League was competent to deal with the matter, and their regret at some of the incidents that had occurred. A strong resolution, which was agreed to even by the Italians, was passed to the effect that any dispute between members of the League likely to lead to a rupture is within the sphere of action of the League, and that if it can not be settled by diplomacy, arbitration, or judicial settlement, it is the duty of the Council to deal with it under Article 15.

My endeavor so far has been to remove certain misapprehensions and to state what the League, in the handling of the Corfu crisis, did and what it failed to do, what we had a right to expect it to do and what we did not have a right to expect it to do. We now come to the important question as to the effect of this crisis on the League and on its ability to function in the future. One thing is certain, I think, and that is that Mussolini went into Corfu with every intention of staying there. Why did he get out?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to examine for a moment the new political alignment of the States of Europe. Before the Great War, we had six great nations and a number of small States whose influence was negligible. To-day we have three great powers and a large number of quite respectable small States. Before going into the War Italy, as you know, drove a hard bargain with the Allies, and as the War drew to a close and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire appeared inevitable, the national aspirations of Italy grew rapidly. While accounted one of the great powers, she had never been quite the equal of the others. She now hoped to supersede Austria as the great power in Southern Europe and to dominate the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. Her ambitions were largely thwarted at the Peace Conference. The greatest blow was the creation of a powerful Jugoslav State, which effectually blocked her way to the East. The remarkable nationalistic movement in Italy and the strong position of Mussolini are explainable largely by the failure to achieve her war aims. Mussolini's seizure of Corfu was not a sudden outburst of temper, but a deliberately planned step in furtherance of a clearly defined national policy. He chose what appeared to be an opportune moment, when the other two great powers were deadlocked over the Ruhr question. He had, too, an excellent pretext, a shocking outrage against Italian commissioners on Greek territory, and, remember, the Greek Government was in bad odor in Europe. He made the same use of the Tellini murder that



Austria made of the assassination of the Crown Prince at Sarajevo in 1914, and there seemed little likelihood of either of the great powers interfering. But he left out of consideration the League, which he held in contempt, and the small States, whose influence in the aggregate through the combined force of public opinion was yet to be revealed.

France's relations with the small States need to be considered in this connection. As soon as it was apparent that the United States was not going into the League and was not going to ratify the guarantee treaty, in consideration of which France had abandoned her claims to the left bank of the Rhine, the French Government set to work to create other guarantees. In September, 1920, was signed the Franco-Belgian military alliance, and this was followed in February, 1921, by the Franco-Polish alliance. These two treaties, whose object was to uphold the territorial arrangements of the Treaty of Versailles, were both registered in due form with the Secretariat of the League. The Little Entente, which was formed about the same time, or a little later, and which has been nurtured by France, rests on three treaties, one between Czecho-Slovakia and the Jugo-Slav State, signed August 14, 1920, another between Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, signed April 23, 1921, and the third between Jugo-Slavia and Rumania, signed July 2, 1921. The main object of the Little Entente is, of course to prevent a revival of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There is also an alliance between Rumania and Poland, signed March 3, 1921, and, finally, there is the Baltic Entente, signed at Warsaw, March 17, 1922, by the representatives of the Republic of Poland, Finland, Latvia and Esthonia. All of the treaties mentioned above have been registered, in accordance with the terms of the Covenant, at the Secretariat of the League. As the object of all of them is to maintain the territorial status set up at the Paris Conference, they cannot be said to be in violation of the Covenant. There is thus a network of alliances around Germany, encouraged and fostered by France. Large sums of money have been advanced by the French Government to the Little Entente and to Poland. These small States are all strong upholders of the League, and Mussolini's seizure of Corfu was, furthermore, a direct blow at the Little Entente. France, therefore, could not afford to lend aid or encouragement to Italy in the Greco-Italic crisis. In fact, the French Government was very much embarrassed by Mussolini's rash act. The British Government, on the other hand, hesitated to make

any protest for fear of driving Italy into permanent alliance with France. Mussolini was correct in thinking that he would encounter no difficulties from either of these powers. With England and France embarrassed and hesitating, the stage was set for the appearance of a leader, and this leader was found in the person of Lord Robert Cecil. His handling of the question at Geneva rallied to his support all the small States in the League, not only the South American and Scandinavian countries, but even France's particular friends and allies, Belgium, the Little Entente and Poland. By his bold stand, Lord Robert Cecil did what Stanley Baldwin, the British Premier, had signally failed to do. Baldwin had been unable to get the support of any of the small States in his Ruhr policy. England was completely isolated diplomatically when Lord Robert Cecil succeeded in rallying to his side the entire membership of the League, with the exception of France and Italy. His success in this matter went a long way toward restoring the diplomatic prestige and moral leadership of Great Britain. It was the public opinion of the Small States, which in the aggregate amounted to a great volume, that forced Mussolini to withdraw from Corfu. Thus at this great crisis a new and hitherto negligible factor appeared in European politics, the combined public opinion of the small States, a factor which I believe is going to play a great part in the future. In fact, after the incident was closed, Mussolini made the following rather naive statement to a correspondent of a Paris paper: "The League has the inadmissible defect that it permits small nations to intervene, discuss and regulate the affairs of great powers."

The public always likes to see a showdown. They want to see a fight carried to a finish. In affairs of state, however, things are rarely ever settled that way. They are usually compromised. In the Corfu crisis, the League did not act as a super-state. It did not make any grandstand plays. It did, however, insist that the affair be adjusted through conference, conciliation and the force of public opinion. In 1914 Sir Edward Grey tried in vain to bring the issues raised by the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before a conference of the powers. He has repeatedly said that had he been able to do so, there would have been no war on that issue at that time. Since the Corfu incident, he has expressed the confident opinion that had the League of Nations been in existence in 1914, he could have averted war. The refusal of the principal powers concerned to go into a conference in 1914 left no opportunity for

public opinion to be formulated and brought to bear on the crisis. It took several weeks for the public at large to find out just what had happened. Public opinion was finally formulated, and, outside of Germany and Austria, it was fairly unanimous. But it was then too late to do any good. The war was well under way. All we could do was to hold a postmortem. In the Corfu crisis, as the result of the fortunate circumstance that the League convened in regular session a few days after it occurred, we had a chance to diagnose the case before it was too late, and war was averted as the result of the rapid crystallization of public opinion at Geneva.

Notwithstanding some of the unsatisfactory features of the settlement arrived at in the Corfu case, the League came out of the affair strengthened rather than weakened. The most significant feature of the whole affair was the attitude of the Small States. They displayed great faith in the League, and an encouraging determination to uphold its authority. One interesting fact is worthy of comment. While the large States are usually represented at the meetings of the League by ex-ministers or persons of more or less prominence, without official standing at home, the small States are in most cases represented by their foreign secretaries or other cabinet members, who speak with full authority for their governments. The reason for this is that the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, which is a continuation of the Supreme War Council, and which is charged with the execution of the various peace treaties, is still entrusted with most of the important political issues that arise. In the general settlement at Paris, the execution of the peace treaties was not handed over to the League. It was expected that most of the provisions of these treaties would be carried out within a few months by the powers themselves, acting through the Supreme War Council. Questions that it was foreseen it would take years to settle, such as that of reparations, were referred to special commissions. Unfortunately there have been unexpected delays. The Albanian boundary was one of the questions which were still hanging over and which the Conference of Ambassadors had direct charge of. Furthermore, when it became evident that the United States was not going to join the League, Lloyd George and others conceived the idea of securing the cooperation of the United States through the Conference of Ambassadors. A great many questions have, therefore, been referred to this body which would otherwise have gone to the Council of the League. I understand that Ambassador Herrick is regularly

invited to the meetings of the Conference of Ambassadors, but that he is instructed by the Secretary of State to consult him by cable in every instance, and not to attend unless authorized to do so. The United States was not represented at the conferences on the Corfu incident. The first secretary of the Legation, in the absence of Ambassador Herrick, did, however, attend the recent meeting at which the French ultimatum to Germany was considered, when it was feared there would be a complete rupture between England and France. The United States is, therefore, largely responsible for the fact that the Conference of Ambassadors is regarded by the great powers as of more importance than the Council of the League. We are thus encouraging the old secret diplomacy, and interfering with the proper functioning of the League.

The League has, of course, all the weaknesses of a new institution, and its main handicap is the absence of the United States. That it has proven itself to be an indispensable agency for the handling of a great many international problems is generally admitted. It is an international clearing house where questions of common concern, such as public health and sanitary matters, the handling of epidemics, the regulation of the opium trade, and the traffic in women and children, are discussed and acted upon. It has on its staff several hundred experts on various questions of international importance who are working side by side, collecting information and exchanging views. I doubt whether in any chancellery of Europe there is as much sound and accurate information on international affairs of every kind and description as is to be found at Geneva. The nations of the world have been brought into closer contact and to a better understanding of one another's problems. So far, so good. The vital question, however, remains unsettled: Is the League ever to function politically in the way that its founders hoped it would? Personally, I am convinced that it will. It may be a slow process, but the world can not continue to live in a state of international anarchy. It is useless to talk about international peace or the boycotting of war until we provide some means other than war for the settlement of international differences, for these differences will always arise. An international court is a great and necessary step forward, but that step alone does not take us to the desired goal. The court can deal only with disputes of a legal nature. It has no powers of conciliation. The conference idea, which is at the basis of the League, must be developed for the handling of questions that are non-legal or extra-legal in their nature.



Whether the League is to function in important political matters depends largely upon the United States. What are we going to do about it? That is the greatest question before the American people to-day, and the destinies of the world are waiting on the answer we may give.

JOHN H. LATANÉ

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# TREASURER'S STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 4, 1923

## RECEIPTS

|                                                 |                  |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Balance from former treasurer, May 5, 1922..... | \$ 29.25         |
| Dues collected since May 5, 1922.....           | 556.00           |
| Advertisements in Proceedings.....              | 160.00           |
| Sales of Proceedings.....                       | 66.00            |
| Interest on Bank deposits.....                  | 3.87             |
| Total receipts.....                             | <u>\$ 815.12</u> |

## EXPENDITURES

|                                                  |                  |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Expenses of former secretary.....                | \$ 12.78         |
| Expenses of secretary at Wilmington Meeting..... | 9.05             |
| Other expenses of Wilmington Meeting.....        | 25.00            |
| Postage and stationery.....                      | 71.51            |
| Mimeographing.....                               | 30.79            |
| Clerical assistance.....                         | 63.45            |
| Printing programs.....                           | 26.50            |
| Publishing Proceedings.....                      | 250.66           |
| Balance, cash on hand.....                       | 325.38           |
| Total.....                                       | <u>\$ 815.12</u> |

LENA C. VAN BIBBER,  
*Treasurer.*

## CONSTITUTION

### ARTICLE I. *Name and Purpose*

This Association shall be known as the "Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland". Its purpose shall be two-fold: First, to advance the study and teaching of history and other social sciences through discussion and publication and, secondly, to promote personal acquaintance among teachers and students in these fields.

### ARTICLE II. *Membership*

Any one interested in the study or teaching of history and other social sciences in the Middle States and Maryland shall be eligible to membership. Application for membership shall be accepted or rejected by a vote of the Council at its meeting next following the receipt of such application.

### ARTICLE III. *Officers*

*Section 1.* There shall be a president, a vice-president and a secretary-treasurer, elected by ballot at the annual spring meeting. Their duties shall be those usually attached to their respective offices. The secretary-treasurer shall carefully preserve records of all meetings of the Council and of all business sessions of the Association; and these and other important records and correspondence shall be kept on file in the office of the secretary-treasurer.

*Section 2.* The general direction of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of the three officers, the former presidents of the Association, two members elected annually and one delegate each appointed annually by such local associations as the Council may from time to time designate for this purpose.

### ARTICLE IV. *Meetings*

The annual meeting of the Association shall be held at the time and place designated by the Council.

## ARTICLE V. *Fiscal Year and Dues*

The fiscal year shall begin with the annual business meeting. The membership fee shall be one dollar, payable annually in April for the ensuing year. Members who have not paid their dues for the current year shall not be entitled to receive the publications of the Association while in arrears, and members who are two years in arrears and have received three notices of their indebtedness shall be regarded as having forfeited their membership.

## ARTICLE VI. *Amendments*

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present, notice of the proposed amendment having been given in *advance of the meeting*.

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## RESOLUTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE CENSORSHIP OF SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

At a meeting of the Council held on the evening of May 4th, 1923, at Lincoln School, Dr. James Sullivan, State Historian of New York, offered resolutions, deploring recent proposals to censor school history textbooks. The substance of these resolutions met with hearty acceptance and, with slight modification, they were recommended for presentation the following day at the general business meeting of the Association. Here they were read by Dr. Sullivan and fully discussed by those present, some of whom were in favor of expressing in still stronger terms condemnation of any attempt to substitute, through censorship, partisan for scholarly determination of the content of history texts. The resolutions, unanimously adopted, are as follows:

*WHEREAS* there has come to the attention of this Association and its members the existence of considerable agitation in some of the newspaper press and elsewhere on the subject of the teaching of American history in the schools which has tended to reflect on the patriotism and intelligence of the teachers of history;

*WHEREAS* this agitation has in many cases been largely carried on by persons little conversant with the fundamental sources of American history who have garbled the wording and intention of certain history textbooks so as to make them appear unpatriotic;



*WHEREAS* this Association feels that the object of the teaching of history is to give a truthful picture of the past with due regard to the age of the pupils for whom the work is intended; that the truth should not be distorted for any purpose whatsoever and that both sides of a controversial question should be adequately presented from an academic point of view so that students of history shall be trained in the habits of open minded tolerance and thus prevent narrow minded bigotry and prejudice;

*THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED* that this Association go on record as deploring an agitation based on either ignorance or malice, or which has for its object the promotion of animosities between classes or nations; that this Association lend its influence to defeat the attempts made to get legislatures to write into the statutes the content of courses in history and the social sciences; that the proper place for determining such content is with the state and local educational authorities; and that we deplore the publicity that has been given this agitation as being both pernicious in its effect upon the training of our young American citizens and destructive of sound scholarship;

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED* that the secretary of this Association send copies of these resolutions to other associations of teachers of history and the social sciences requesting them to take similar action.

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1923-1924

*President*

FAYETTE E. MOYER

DEWITT CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK

*Vice-President*

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

*Secretary-Treasurer*

LENA C. VAN BIBBER

MARYLAND STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, TOWSON, MD.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

FORMER PRESIDENTS

Lucy Salmon, Vassar College  
C. M. Andrews, Yale University  
J. H. Robinson, New School for Social Research  
C. A. Herrick, Girard College  
Eleanor L. Lord, Smith College  
H. V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania  
James Sullivan, State Historian, Albany  
Edgar Dawson, Hunter College  
A. E. McKinley, Editor, Historical Outlook  
Henry Johnson, Teachers College, Columbia University  
J. M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University  
Jessie C. Evans, Wm. Penn High School, Philadelphia  
M. S. Brown, New York University  
L. R. Schuyler, College of the City of New York  
D. C. Knowlton, Lincoln School of Teachers College, New York  
A. K. Heckel, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.  
R. W. Kelsey, Haverford College, Pa.  
J. M. Gambrill, Teachers College, Columbia University

ELECTED

E. P. Smith, State Department of Education, Albany  
Florence E. Stryker, State Normal School, Montclair, N. J.

DELEGATES FROM CONFERENCES

A. C. Bryan, High School of Commerce, New York  
Laura C. Cairnes, Eastern High School, Baltimore  
Sarah A. Dynes, State Normal School, Trenton, N. J.  
James C. Sigman, North East High School, Philadelphia

## LIST OF MEMBERS

*Note*.—The arrangement in this list is: (1) name, (2) institution, (3) residence. The city or postoffice address is given only once if it is the same for both (2) and (3).

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